1509/831

J. P. BRISSOT,

DEPUTY

OF

EURE AND LOIRE,

TO HIS

CONSTITUENTS,

ON THE SITUATION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION;

ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANARCHISTS, AND THE EVILS IT HAS CAUSED;

AND ON THE NECESSITY OF ANNIHILATING THAT INFLUENCE IN ORDER TO SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH A PREFACE AND OCCASIONAL NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

A NEW EDITION.

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Tranſlator's Preface.

THE French Revolution has been the ſubject of various ſpeculations, and various hiſtories. As might be expected, the Royaliſts and the Republicans have differed a good deal in their accounts of the principles of that revolution, of the ſprings which have ſet it in motion, and of the true character of thoſe who have been, or ſtill are the principal actors on that aſtoniſhing ſcene.

They who are inclined to think favourably of that event, will undoubtedly object to every ſtate of facts which comes only from the authority of a Royaliſt. Thus much muſt be allowed by thoſe who are the moſt firmly attached to the cauſe of religion, law, and order (for of ſuch, and not of friends to deſpotiſm, the royal party is compoſed) that their very affection to this generous and manly cauſe, and their abhorrence of a revolution, not leſs fatal to liberty than to government, may poſſibly lead them in ſome particulars to a more harſh repreſentation of the proceedings of their adverſaries, than would be allowed by the cold neutrality of an impartial judge. This ſort of error ariſes from a ſource highly laudable; but the exactneſs of truth may ſuffer even from the feelings of virtue. Hiſtory will do juſtice to the intentions of worthy men; but it will be on its guard againſt their infirmities: it will examine with great ſtrictneſs of ſcrutiny, whatever appears from a writer in favour of his own cauſe. On the other hand, whatever eſcapes him, and makes againſt that cauſe, comes with the greateſt weight.

In this important controverſy, the tranſlator of the following work brings forward to the Engliſh tribunal of opinion, the teſtimony of a witneſs beyond all exception. His competence is undoubted. He knows every thing which concerns this revolution to the bottom. He is a chief actor in all the ſcenes which he preſents. No man can object to him as a royaliſt: the royal party, and the Chriſtian religion, never had a more determined enemy. In a word, it is BRISSOT.—It is Briſſot the Republican, the Jacobin, and the Philoſopher, who is brought to give an account of Jacobiniſm, and of Republicaniſm, and of Philoſophy.

It is worthy of obſervation, that this his account of the genius of Jacobiniſm, and its effects, is not confined to the period in which that faction came to be divided within itſelf. In ſeveral, and thoſe very important particulars, Briſſot's obſervations apply to the whole of the preceding period, before the great ſchiſm, and whilſt the Jacobins acted as one body: inſomuch, that the far greater part of the proceedings of the ruling powers, ſince the commencement of the revolution in France, ſo ſtrikingly painted, ſo ſtrongly and ſo juſtly reprobated by Briſſot, were the acts of Briſſot himſelf and his aſſociates. All the members of the Girondin ſubdiviſion were as deeply concerned as any of the Mountain could poſſibly be, and ſome of them much more deeply, in thoſe horrid tranſactions which have filled all the thinking part of Europe with the greateſt deteſtation, and with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions for the common liberty and ſafety.

A queſtion will very naturally be aſked, what could induce Briſſot to draw ſuch a picture? He muſt have been ſenſible it was his own. The anſwer is—the inducement was the ſame with that which led him to partake in the preparation of all the crimes, the calamitous effects of which he deſcribes with the pen of a maſter,—Ambition. His faction having obtained their ſtupendous and unnatural power, by rooting out of the minds of his unhappy countrymen every principle of religion, morality, loyalty, fidelity, and honour, diſcovered, that when authority came into their hands, it would be a matter of no ſmall difficulty for them to carry on government on the principles by which they had deſtroyed it.

The rights of men, and the new principles of liberty and equality, were very unhandy inſtruments for thoſe who wiſhed to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of tranquillity and order. They who were taught to find nothing to reſpect in the title and in the virtues of Louis the Sixteenth, a prince ſucceeding to the throne

throne by the fundamental laws, in the line of a ſucceſſion of monarchs continued for fourteen hundred years, found nothing which could bind them to an implicit fidelity, and dutiful allegiance to Meſſ. Briſſot, Vergniaux, Condorcet, Anacharſis Cloots, and Thomas Paine.

In this difficulty, they did as well as they could. To govern the people, they muſt incline the people to obey. The work was difficult, but it was neceſſary. They were to accompliſh it by ſuch materials and by ſuch inſtruments as they had in their hands. They were to accompliſh the purpoſes of order, morality, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, from the principles of atheiſm, profligacy, and ſedition. Ill as the diſguiſe became them, they began to aſſume the maſk of an auſtere and rigid virtue; they exhauſted all the ſtores of their eloquence (which in ſome of them were not inconſiderable) in declamations, againſt tumult and confuſion; they made daily harangues on the bleſſings of order, diſcipline, quiet, and obedience to authority; they even ſhewed ſome ſort of diſpoſition to protect ſuch property as had not been confiſcated. They, who on every occaſion had diſcovered a ſort of furious thirſt of blood, and a greedy appetite for ſlaughter, who avowed and gloried in the murders and maſſacres of the 14th of July, of the 5th and 6th of October, and of the 10th of Auguſt, now began to be ſqueamiſh and faſtidious with regard to thoſe of the 2d of September.

In their pretended ſcruples on the ſequel of the ſlaughter of the 10th of Auguſt, they impoſed upon no living creature, and they obtained not the ſmalleſt credit for humanity. They endeavoured to eſtabliſh a diſtinction, by the belief of which they hoped to keep the ſpirit of murder ſafely bottled up, and ſealed for their own purpoſes, without endangering themſelves by the fumes of the poiſon which they prepared for their enemies.

Roland was the chief and the moſt accredited of the faction:—His morals had furniſhed little matter of exception againſt him;—old, domeſtic, and uxorious, he led a private life ſufficiently blameleſs. He was therefore ſet up as the *Cato* of the republican party, which did not abound in ſuch characters.

This man, like moſt of the chiefs, was the manager of a newſpaper, in which he promoted the intereſt of his party. He was a fatal preſent made by the revolutioniſts to the unhappy king, as one of his miniſters under the new conſtitution. Amongſt his colleagues were Claviere and Servan.

All the three have ſince that time, either loſt their heads by the axe of their aſſociates in rebellion, or to evade their own revolutionary juſtice, have fallen by their own hands.

Theſe miniſters were regarded by the king as in a conſpiracy to dethrone him. Nobody who conſiders the circumſtances which preceded the depoſition of Louis the ſixteenth; nobody who attends to the ſubſequent conduct of thoſe miniſters, can heſitate about the reality of ſuch a conſpiracy. The king certainly had no doubt of it: he found himſelf obliged to remove them; and the neceſſity which firſt obliged him to chooſe ſuch regicide miniſters, conſtrained him to replace them by Dumourier the Jacobin, and ſome others of little efficiency, though of a better deſcription.

A little before this removal, and evidently as a part of the conſpiracy, Roland put into the king's hands as a memorial, the moſt inſolent, ſeditious, and atrocious libel, that has probably ever been penned. This paper Roland a few days after delivered to the National Aſſembly,* who inſtantly publiſhed and diſperſed it over all France; and in order to give it the ſtronger operation, they declared, that he and his brother miniſters had carried with them the regret of the nation. None of the writings which have inflamed the Jacobin ſpirit to a ſavage fury, ever worked up a fiercer ferment through the whole maſs of the republicans in every part of France.

Under the thin veil of *prediction*, he ſtrongly *recommends* all the abominable practices which afterwards followed. In particular he inflamed the minds of the populace againſt the reſpectable and conſcientious clergy, who became the chief objects of the maſſacre, and who were to him the chief objects of a malignity and rancour that one could hardly think to exiſt in an human heart.

We have the reliques of his fanatical perſecution here. We are in a condition to judge of the merits of the perſecutors and of the perſecuted—I do not ſay the accuſers and accuſed; becauſe in all the furious declamations of the atheiſtick faction againſt theſe men, not one ſpecific charge has been made upon any one perſon of thoſe who ſuffered in their maſſacre, or by their decree of exile.

The king had declared that he would ſooner periſh under their axe, (he too well ſaw what was preparing for him) than

Tranſlator.] Preſented to the king June 13, delivered to him the preceding Monday.

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give his ſanction to the iniquitous act of proſcription, under which thoſe innocent people were to be tranſported.

On this proſcription of the clergy, a principal part of the oſtenſible quarrel between the king and thoſe miniſters, had turned. From the time of the authoriſed publication of this libel, ſome of the manœuvres long and uniformly purſued for the king's depoſition, became more and more evident and declared.

The tenth of Auguſt came on, and in the manner in which Roland had predicted: it was followed by the ſame conſequences—The king was depoſed, after cruel maſſacres, in the courts and the apartments of his palace, and in almoſt all parts of the city. In reward of his treaſon to his old maſter, Roland was by his new maſters named miniſter of the home department.

The maſſacres of the ſecond of September were begotten by the maſſacres of the tenth of Auguſt. They were univerſally foreſeen and hourly expected. During the ſhort interval between the two murderous ſcenes, the furies, male and female, cried out havock as loudly and as fiercely as ever. The ordinary jails were all filled with prepared victims; and when they overflowed, churches were turned into jails. At this time the relentleſs Roland had the care of the general police; he had for his colleague the bloody Danton, who was miniſter of juſtice:—The inſidious Petion was mayor of Paris—The treacherous Manuel was procurator of the Common-hall.——The magiſtrates (ſome or all of them) were evidently the authors of this maſſacre. Leſt the national guards ſhould, by their very name, be reminded of their duty in preſerving the lives of their fellow citizens, the common council of Paris, pretending that it was in vain to think of reſiſting the murderers, (although in truth neither their numbers nor their arms were at all formidable) obliged thoſe guards to draw the charges from their muſquets, and took away their bayonets. One of their journaliſts, and according to their faſhion, one of their leading ſtateſmen, Gorſas, mentions this fact in his newſpaper, which he formerly called the Galley Journal. The title was well ſuited to the paper and its author. For ſome felonies he had been ſentenced to the gallies; but by the benignity of the late king, this felon (to be one day advanced to the rank of a regicide) had been pardoned and releaſed at the interceſſion of the ambaſſadors of Tippoo Sultan. His gratitude was ſuch as might naturally have been expected; and it has lately been rewarded as it deſerved.

deſerved. This liberated Galley-ſlave was raiſed, in mockery of all criminal law, to be miniſter of juſtice: he became from his elevation a more conſpicuous object of accuſation, and he has ſince received the puniſhment of his former crimes in proſcription and death.

It will be aſked, how the miniſter of the home department was employed at this criſis? The day after the maſſacre had commenced Roland appeared, but not with the powerful apparatus of a protecting magiſtrate, to reſcue thoſe who had ſurvived the ſlaughter of the firſt day:—Nothing of this. On the third of September, (that is the day after the commencement of the maſſacre)* he writes a long, elaborate, verboſe epiſtle to the Aſſembly, in which, after magnifying, according to the *bon ton* of the revolution, his own integrity, humanity, courage, and patriotiſm, he firſt directly juſtifies all the bloody proceedings of the tenth of Auguſt. He conſiders the ſlaughter of that day as a neceſſary meaſure for defeating a conſpiracy, which (with a full knowledge of the falſehood of his aſſertion) he aſſerts to have been formed for a maſſacre of the people of Paris, and which he more than inſinuates, was the work of his late unhappy maſter, who was univerſally known to carry his dread of ſhedding the blood of his moſt guilty ſubjects to an exceſs.

"Without the day of the tenth," ſays he, "it is evident "that we ſhould have been loſt. The court, prepared for a "long time, waited for the hour which was to accumulate "all treaſons, to diſplay over Paris the ſtandard of death, and "to reign there by terror. The ſenſe of the people, (le ſen-"timent) always *juſt and ready* when their opinion is not "corrupted, *foreſaw* the epoch marked for their deſtruction, "and rendered it fatal to the conſpirators." He then proceeds, in the cant which has been applied to palliate all their atrocities from the fourteenth of July, 1789, to the preſent time;—"It is in the nature of things," continues he, "and "in that of the human heart, that victory ſhould bring with "it *ſome* exceſs. The ſea, agitated by a violent ſtorm, "roars *long* after the tempeſt; but *every thing has bounds*, "which ought *at length* to be obſerved."

In this memorable epiſtle, he conſiders ſuch *exceſſes* as fatalities ariſing from the very nature of things, and conſequently not to be puniſhed. He allows a ſpace of time for the dura-

* Letter to the National Aſſembly ſigned—*The Miniſter of the interior* ROLAND, dated Paris, Sept. 3d, *4th year of Liberty.*

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tion of theſe agitations; and leſt he ſhould be thought rigid and too ſcanty in his meaſure, he thinks it may be *long*. But he would have things to ceaſe *at length*. But when, and where?—When they may approach his own perſon.

"*Yeſterday*," ſays he, the MINISTERS *were denounced: "vaguely* indeed as to the *matter*, becauſe ſubjects of reproach "were wanting; but with that warmth and force of aſſertion, "which ſtrike the imagination and ſeduce it for a moment, "and which miſlead and deſtroy confidence, without which no "man ſhould remain in place in a free government. *Yeſter-"day, again*, in an aſſembly of the preſidents of all the ſec-"tions, convoked by the miniſters, with the view of conci-"liating all minds, and of mutual explanation, I perceived "that *diſtruſt which ſuſpects, interrogates, and fetters opera-"tions.*"

In this manner, (that is, in mutual ſuſpicions and interrogatories) this virtuous miniſter of the home department, and all the magiſtracy of Paris, ſpent the firſt day of the maſſacre, the atrocity of which has ſpread horror and alarm throughout Europe. It does not appear that the putting a ſtop to the maſſacre, had any part in the object of their meeting, or in their conſultations when they were met. Here was a miniſter tremblingly alive to his own ſafety, dead to that of his fellow citizens, eager to preſerve his place, and worſe than indifferent about its moſt important duties. Speaking of the people, he ſays, "that their hidden enemies may make "uſe of this *agitation*," (the tender appellation which he gives to horrid maſſacre) "to hurt *their beſt friends, and "their moſt able defenders. Already the example begins*; let it "reſtrain and arreſt a *juſt* rage. Indignation carried to its "height commences proſcriptions which fall only on the "*guilty*, but which in error and particular paſſions may ſhortly "involve the *honeſt man*."

He ſaw that the able artificers in the trade and myſtery of murder, did not chuſe that their ſkill ſhould be unemployed after their firſt work; and that they were full as ready to cut off their rivals as their enemies. This gave him *one* alarm, that was ſerious. This letter of Roland in every part of it lets out the ſecret of all the parties in this revolution. *Plena rimarum eſt; hac, atque illac perfluit.* We ſee that none of them condemn the occaſional practice of murder; provided it is properly applied; provided it is kept within the bounds, which each of thoſe parties think proper to preſcribe. In this caſe Roland feared, that if what was occaſionally uſeful, ſhould become

become habitual, the practice might go further than was convenient. It might involve the beſt friends of the laſt revolution, as it had done the heroes of the firſt revolution: he feared that it would not be confined to the La Fayettes and Clement-Tonnerres, the Duponts, and Barnaves, but that it might extend to the Briſſots and Verginaux's, to the Condorcets, the Petions, and to himſelf. Under this apprehenſion there is no doubt that his humane feelings were altogether unaffected.

His obſervations on the maſſacre of the preceding day are ſuch as cannot be paſſed over:—"Yeſterday," ſaid he, "was "a day upon the events of which it is perhaps neceſſary to "leave a *veil*;—I know that the people with their vengeance "*mingled a ſort of juſtice*; they did not take for victims *all* "who preſented themſelves to their fury; they directed it to "*them who had for a long time been ſpared by the ſword of the* "*law*, and who they *believed*, from the peril of circumſtances, ſhould be ſacrificed without delay. But I know that "it is eaſy to *villains and traitors* to miſrepreſent this *effer-* "*veſcence*, and that it muſt be checked; I know that we "owe to all France the declaration, that the *executive power* "could not foreſee or prevent this exceſs. I know, that it "is due to the conſtituted authorities to place a limit to it, or "conſider themſelves as aboliſhed."

In the midſt of this carnage he thinks of nothing but throwing a veil over it; which was at once to cover the guilty from puniſhment, and to extinguiſh all compaſſion for the ſufferers. He apologiſes for it; in fact, he juſtifies it. He who (as the reader has juſt ſeen in what is quoted from this letter) feels ſo much indignation at "vague denunciations" when made againſt *himſelf*, and from which he then feared nothing more than the ſubverſion of his power, is not aſhamed to conſider the charge of a conſpiracy to maſſacre the Pariſians brought againſt his maſter upon denunciations as vague as poſſible, or rather upon no denunciations, as a perfect juſtification of the monſtrous proceedings againſt him. He is not aſhamed to call the murder of the unhappy prieſts in the *Carmes*, who were under no criminal denunciation whatſoever "a *vengeance* mingled with a *ſort of juſtice*;" he obſerves that "they "had been a long time ſpared by the ſword of the law," and calls by anticipation all thoſe who ſhould repreſent this "*effervеſcence*" in other colours, *villains and traitors:* he did not then foreſee, how ſoon himſelf and his accomplices would be under the neceſſity of aſſuming the pretended character

racter of this new ſort of "*villainy and treaſon*," in the hope of obliterating the memory of their former real *villainies and treaſons*:—he did not foreſee, that in the courſe of ſix months a formal manifeſto on the part of himſelf and his faction, written by his confederate Briſſot, was to repreſent this "*effervescence*" as another "*St. Bartholomew*;" and ſpeak of it as "*having made humanity ſhudder, and ſullied the Revolu-*"*tion for ever.*"*

It is very remarkable that he takes upon himſelf to know the motives of the aſſaſſins, their policy, and even what they "believed." How could this be if he had no connection with them? He praiſes the murderers for not having taken as yet *all* the lives of thoſe who had, as he calls it, "*preſented themſelves* as victims to their fury." He paints the miſerable priſoners who had been forcibly piled upon one another in the church of the Carmelites, by his faction, as *preſenting themſelves* as victims to their fury; as if death was their choice; or, (allowing the idiom of his language to make this equivocal) as if they were by ſome accident *preſented* to the fury of their aſſaſſins: whereas he knew, that the leaders of the murderers ſought theſe pure and innocent victims in the places where they had depoſited them, and were ſure to find them. The very ſelection, which he praiſes as a *ſort of juſtice* tempering their fury, proves beyond a doubt, the foreſight, deliberation, and method with which this maſſacre was made. He knew that circumſtance on the very day of the commencement of the maſſacres, when, in all probability, he had begun this letter, for he preſented it to the Aſſembly on the very next.

Whilſt, however, he defends theſe acts, he is conſcious that they will appear in another light to the world. He therefore acquits the executive power, that is, he acquits himſelf (but only by his own aſſertion) of thoſe acts "of *vengeance mixed with a ſort of juſtice*," as "an *exceſs* which he could neither foreſee nor prevent." He could not, he ſays, forſee theſe acts; when he tells us, the people of Paris had ſagacity ſo well to foreſee the deſigns of the court on the 10th of Auguſt; to forſee them ſo well, as to mark the preciſe epoch, on which they were to be executed, and to contrive to anticipate them on the very day: he could not foreſee theſe events, though he declares in this very letter that victory *muſt* bring with it ſome *exceſs*;—"that the ſea roars *long* after the

* See p 6, and p. 7, of this tranſlation.

tempeſt." So far as to his foreſight. As to his diſpoſition to prevent, if he had foreſeen the maſſacres of that day; this will be judged by his care in putting a ſtop to the maſſacre then going on. This was no matter of foreſight. He was in the very midſt of it. He does not ſo much as pretend, that he had uſed any force to put a ſtop to it. But if he had uſed any, the ſanction given under his hand, to a ſort of juſtice in the murderers, was enough to diſarm the protecting force.

That approbation of what they had already done, had its natural effect on the executive aſſaſſins, then in the paroxiſm of their fury, as well as on their employers, then in the midſt of the execution of their deliberate cold-blooded ſyſtem of murder. He did not at all differ from either of them in the principle of thoſe executions, but only in the time of their duration; and that only as it affected himſelf. This, though to him a great conſideration, was none to his confederates, who were at the ſame time his rivals. They were encouraged to accompliſh the work they had in hand. They did accompliſh it; and whilſt this grave moral epiſtle from a grave miniſter, recommending a ceſſation of their work of "vengeance mingled with a ſort of juſtice." was before a grave aſſembly, the authors of the maſſacres proceeded without interruption in their buſineſs for four days together; that is, until the 7th of that month, and until all the victims of the firſt proſcription in Paris and at Verſailles, and ſeveral other places, were immolated at the ſhrine of the grim Moloch of liberty and equality.—All the prieſts, all the royaliſts, all the firſt eſſayiſts and novices of revolution in 1789, that could be found, were promiſcuouſly put to death.

Through the whole of this long letter of Roland, it is curious to remark how the nerve and vigour of his ſtyle, which had ſpoken ſo potently to his ſovereign, is relaxed, when he addreſſes himſelf to the *ſans culottes*; how that ſtrength and dexterity of arm, with which he parries and beats down the ſcepter, is enfeebled and loſt, when he comes to fence with the poignard! When he ſpeaks to the populace he can no longer be direct. The whole compaſs of the language is tried to find ſynonimes and circumlocutions for maſſacre and murder. Things are never called by their common names. Maſſacre is ſometimes *agitation*, ſometimes *effervеſcence*, ſometimes *exceſs*; ſometimes too continued an exerciſe of a *revolutionary power*.

However,

However, after what had paſſed had been praiſed, or excuſed, or pardoned, he declares loudly againſt ſuch proceedings in *future*. Crimes had pioneered and made ſmooth the way for the march of the virtues; and from that time, order and juſtice, and a ſacred regard for perſonal property, were to become the rules for the new democracy. Here Roland and the Briſſotins leagued for their own preſervation, by endeavouring to preſerve peace. This ſhort ſtory will render many of the parts of Briſſot's pamphlet, in which Roland's views and intentions are ſo often alluded to, the more intelligible in themſelves, and the more uſeful in their application by the Engliſh reader.

Under the cover of theſe artifices, Roland, Briſſot, and their party hoped to gain the bankers, merchants, ſubſtantial tradeſmen, hoarders of aſſignats, and purchaſers of the confiſcated lands of the clergy and gentry, to join with their party, as holding out ſome ſort of ſecurity to the effects which they poſſeſſed, whether theſe effects were the acquiſitions of fair commerce, or the gains of jobbing in the misfortunes of their country, and the plunder of their fellow citizens. In this deſign the party of Roland and Briſſot ſucceeded in a great degree. They obtained a majority in the National Convention. Compoſed however as that Aſſembly is, their majority was far from ſteady: but, whilſt they appeared to gain the Convention, and many of the outlying departments, they loſt the city of Paris entirely and irrecoverably; it was fallen into the hands of Marat, Roberſpierre, and Danton. Their inſtruments were the *Sans culottes*, or rabble, who domineered in that capital, and were wholly at the devotion of thoſe incendaries, and received their daily pay. The people of property were of no conſequence, and trembled before Marat and his janiſſaries. As that great man had not obtained the helm of the ſtate, it was not yet come to his turn to act the part of Briſſot and his friends, in the aſſertion of ſubordination and regular government. But Roberſpierre has ſurvived both theſe rival chiefs, and is now the great patron of Jacobin order.

To balance the exorbitant power of Paris (which threatened to leave nothing to the National Convention, but a character as inſignificant as that which the firſt aſſembly had aſſigned to the unhappy Louis the Sixteenth) the faction of Briſſot, whoſe leaders were Roland, Petion, Vergniaux, Iſnard, Condorcet, &c. &c. &c. applied themſelves to gain the great commercial towns, Lyons, Marſeilles, Rouen, Nantz, and

and Bourdeaux. The republicans of the Briſſotin deſcription, to whom the concealed royaliſts, ſtill very numerous, joined themſelves, obtained a temporary ſuperiority, in all theſe places. In Bourdeaux on account of the activity and eloquence of ſome of its repreſentatives, this ſuperiority was the moſt diſtinguiſhed. This laſt city is ſeated on the Garonne or Gironde; and being the center of a department named from that river, the appellation of Girondiſts was given to the whole party. Theſe and ſome other towns declared ſtrongly againſt the principles of anarchy; and againſt the deſpotiſm of Paris. Numerous addreſſes were ſent to the Convention, promiſing to maintain its authority, which the addreſſers were pleaſed to conſider as legal and conſtitutional, though choſen, not to compoſe an executive government, but to form a plan for a conſtitution. In the Convention meaſures were taken to obtain an armed force from the ſeveral departments to maintain the freedom of that body, and to provide for the perſonal ſafety of the members; neither of which, from the 14th of July 1789 to this hour, have been really enjoyed by their aſſemblies ſitting under any denomination.

This ſcheme, which was well conceived, had not the deſired ſucceſs. Paris, from which the Convention did not dare to move, though ſome threats of ſuch a departure were from time to time thrown out, was too powerful for the party of Gironde. Some of the propoſed guards, but neither with regularity nor in force, did indeed arrive; they were debauched as faſt as they came; or were ſent to the frontiers. The game played by the Revolutioniſts in 1789 with reſpect to the French guards of the unhappy King, was now played againſt the departmental guards, called together for the protection of the Revolutioniſts. Every part of their own policy comes round, and ſtrikes at their own power and their own lives.

The Pariſians, on their part, were not ſlow in taking the alarm. They had juſt reaſon to apprehend, that if they permitted the ſmalleſt delay, they ſhould ſee themſelves beſieged by an army collected from all parts of France. Violent threats were thrown out againſt that city in the Aſſembly. Its total deſtruction was menaced. A very remarkable expreſſion was uſed in theſe debates, " that in future times it might be " inquired on what part of the Seine Paris had ſtood." The faction which ruled in Paris, too bold to be intimidated, and too vigilant to be ſurpriſed, inſtantly armed themſelves. In their turn they accuſed the Girondiſts of a treaſonable deſign

to

to break *the republic one and indiviſable*, (whoſe unity as they contended could only be preſerved by the ſupremacy of Paris) into a number of *confederate* commonwealths. The Girondin faction on this account received alſo the name of *federaliſts*.

Things on both ſides haſtened faſt to extremities. Paris, the mother of equality, was herſelf to be equalized.—Matters were come to this alternative,—either that city muſt be reduced to a mere member of the Federative Republic, or, the Convention, choſen, as they ſaid, by all France, was to be brought regularly and ſyſtematically under the dominion of the Common-hall, and even of any one of the ſections of Paris.

In this awful conteſt, thus brought to iſſue, the great mother club of the Jacobins was entirely in the Pariſian intereſt. The Girondins no longer dared to ſhew their faces in that aſſembly. Nine tenths at leaſt of the Jacobin Clubs throughout France, adhered to the great patriarchal Jacobiniere of Paris, to which they were (to uſe their own term) *affiliated*. No authority of magiſtracy, judicial or executive, had the leaſt weight, whenever theſe clubs choſe to interfere; and and they choſe to interfere in every thing, and on every occaſion. All hope of gaining them to the ſupport of property, or to the acknowledgment of any law but their own will, was evidently vain, and hopeleſs. Nothing but an armed inſurrection againſt their anarchical authority, could anſwer the purpoſe of the Girondins.—Anarchy was to be cured by rebellion, as it had been cauſed by it.

As a preliminary to this attempt on the Jacobins and the commons of Paris, which it was hoped would be ſupported by all the remaining property of France, it became abſolutely neceſſary to prepare a manifeſto, laying before the public, the whole policy, genius, character, and conduct of the partiſans of club government. To make this expoſition as fully and clearly as it ought to be made, it was of the ſame unavoidable neceſſity to go through a ſeries of tranſactions, in which all thoſe concerned in this revolution, were at the ſeveral periods of their activity, deeply involved. In conſequence of this deſign, and under theſe difficulties, Briſſot prepared the following declaration of his party, which he executed with no ſmall ability; and in this manner, the whole myſtery of the French Revolution was laid open in all its parts.

It is almoſt needleſs to mention to the reader the fate of the deſign to which this pamphlet was to be ſubſervient. The Jacobins of Paris were more prompt than their adverſaries. They were the readieſt to reſort to what La Fayette calls the *moſt ſacred of all duties, that of inſurrection.* Another æra of holy inſurrection, commenced the 31ſt of laſt May. As the firſt fruits of that inſurrection grafted on inſurrection, and of that rebellion improving upon rebellion, the ſacred irreſponſible character of the members of the Convention was laughed to ſcorn. They had themſelves ſhewn in their proceedings againſt the late King, how little the moſt fixed principles are to be relied upon, in their revolutionary conſtitution. The members of the Girondin party in the Convention, were ſeized upon or obliged to ſave themſelves by flight. The unhappy author of this piece, with twenty of his aſſociates, ſuffered together on the ſcaffold, after a trial, the iniquity of which puts all deſcription to defiance.

The Engliſh reader will draw from this work of Briſſot, and from the reſult of the laſt ſtruggles of this party, ſome uſeful leſſons. He will be enabled to judge of the information of thoſe, who have undertaken to guide and enlighten us, and who, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, have choſen to paint the French Revolution and its conſequences in brilliant and flattering colours.—They will know how to appreciate the liberty of France, which has been ſo much magnified in England.—They will do juſtice to the wiſdom, and goodneſs of their Sovereign and his Parliament, who have put them into a ſtate of defence, in the war audaciouſly made upon us, in favour of that kind of liberty.—When we ſee (as here we muſt ſee) in their true colours the character and policy of our enemies, our gratitude will become an active principle. It will produce a ſtrong and zealous co-operation with the efforts of our government, in favour of a conſtitution under which we enjoy advantages, the full value of which, the querulous weakneſs of human nature requires ſometimes the opportunity of a compariſon, to underſtand and to reliſh.

Our confidence in thoſe who watch for the public will not be leſſened. We ſhall be ſenſible that to alarm us in the late circumſtances of our affairs, was not for our moleſtation, but for our ſecurity. We ſhall be ſenſible that this alarm was not ill timed—and that it ought to have been given, as it was given, before the enemy had time fully to mature and accompliſh their plans, for reducing us to the condition of France, as that condition is faithfully and without exaggeration

tion deſcribed in the following work. We now have our arms in our hands: we have the means of oppoſing the ſenſe, the courage, and the reſources of England, to the deepeſt, the moſt craftly deviſed, the beſt combined, and the moſt extenſive deſign, that ever was carried on ſince the beginning of the world, againſt all property, all order, all religion, all law, and all real freedom.

The reader is requeſted to attend to the part of this pamphlet which relates to the conduct of the Jacobins, with regard to the Auſtian Netherlands, which they call Belgia, or Belgium. It is from page 38 to page 45 of this tranſlation. Here their views and deſigns upon all their neighbours are fully diſplayed. Here the whole myſtery of their ferocious politics is laid open with the utmoſt clearneſs. Here the manner in which they would treat every nation into which they could introduce their doctrines and influence is diſtinctly marked. We ſee that no nation was out of danger, and we ſee what the danger was with which every nation was threatened. The writer of this pamphlet throws the blame of ſeveral of the moſt violent of the proceedings on the other party. He and his friends, at the time alluded to, had a majority in the National Aſſembly. He admits that neither he nor they *ever publicly* oppoſed theſe meaſures; but he attributes their ſilence, to a fear of rendering themſelves ſuſpected. It is moſt certain, that whether from fear, or from approbation, they never diſcovered any diſlike of thoſe proceedings, till Dumourier was driven from the Netherlands. But whatever their motive was, it is plain that the moſt violent is, and ſince the revolution has always been, the predominant party.

If Europe could not be ſaved without our interpoſition, (moſt certainly it could not) I am ſure there is not an Engliſhman, who would not bluſh to be left out of the general effort made in favour of the general ſafety. But we are not ſecondary parties in this war; *we are principals in the danger, and ought to be principals in the exertion.* If any Engliſhman aſks whether the deſigns of the French aſſaſſins are confined to the ſpot of Europe which they actually deſolate, the citizen Briſſot, the author of this book, and the author of the declaration of war againſt England, will give him his anſwer. He will find in this book, that the republicans are divided into factions, full of the moſt furious and deſtructive animoſity againſt each other: but he will find alſo that there is one point in which they perfectly agree—that they are all enemies alike, to the government of all other nations, and only

only contend with each other about the means of propogating their tenets, and extending their empire by conqueſt.

It is true, that in this preſent work, which the author profeſſedly deſigned for an appeal to foreign nations and poſterity, he has dreſſed up the philoſophy of his own faction in as decent a garb as he could to make her appearance in public: but through every diſguiſe her hideous figure may be diſtinctly ſeen. If, however, the reader ſtill wiſhes to ſee her in all her naked deformity, I would further refer him to a private letter of Briſſot written towards the end of the laſt year, and quoted in a very able pamphlet of Mallet du Pan. "We "muſt," (ſays our philoſopher) "*ſet fire to the four corners of* "*Europe*;" in that alone is our ſafety. *Dumourier cannot* "*ſuit us.* I always diſtruſted him. Miranda is the general "for us; he underſtands the *revolutionary power*, he has *cou-* "*rage*, *lights*, &c."* Here every thing is fairly avowed in plain language. The triumph of philoſophy is the univerſal conflagration of Europe; the only real diſſatisfaction with Dumourier is a ſuſpicion of his moderation; and the ſecret motive of that preference, which in this very pamphlet the author gives to Miranda, though without aſſigning his reaſons, is declared to be the ſuperior fitneſs of that foreign adventurer for the purpoſes of ſubverſion and deſtruction.—On the other hand, if there can be any man in this country ſo hardy as to undertake the defence or the apology of the preſent monſtrous uſurpers of France; and if it ſhould be ſaid in their favour, that it is not juſt to credit the charges of their enemy Briſſot againſt them, who have actually tried and condemned him on the very ſame charges among others; we are luckily ſupplied with the beſt poſſible evidence in ſupport of this part of his book againſt them: it comes from among themſelves. Camille Deſmoulins publiſhed the "Hiſtory of "the Briſſotins" in anſwer to this very addreſs of Briſſot. It was the counter-manifeſto of the laſt Holy Revolution of the 31ſt of May; and the flagitious orthodoxy of his writings at that period has been admitted in the late ſcrutiny of him by the Jacobin Club, when they ſaved him from that guillotine "which he grazed." In the beginning of his work he diſplays "the taſk of glory," as he calls it, which preſented itſelf at the opening of the Convention. All is ſummed up in two points: "to create the French republic, and *to diſ-*

* See the tranſlation of Mallet Du Pan's work, printed for Owen, page 53.

"*organize*

" *organize Europe; perhaps to purge it of its tyrants by the* " *eruption of the volcanic principles of equality.**" The coincidence is exact; the proof is complete and irreſiſtible.

In a cauſe like this, and in a time like the preſent, there is no neutrality. They who are not actively, and with deciſion and energy, againſt Jacobiniſm, are its partiſans. They who do not dread it, love it. It cannot be viewed with indifference. It is a thing, made to produce a powerful impreſſion on the feelings. Such is the nature of Jacobiniſm, ſuch is the nature of man, that this ſyſtem muſt be regarded either with enthuſiaſtic admiration, or with the higheſt degree of deteſtation, reſentment, and horror.

Another great leſſon may be taught by this book, and by the fortune of the author, and his party: I mean a leſſon drawn from the conſequences of engaging in daring innovations, from an hope that we may be able to limit their miſchievous operation at our pleaſure, and by our policy to ſecure ourſelves againſt the effect of the evil examples we hold out to the world. This leſſon is taught through almoſt all the important pages of hiſtory: but never has it been taught ſo clearly and ſo awfully as at this hour. The revolutioniſts who have juſt ſuffered an ignominious death, under the ſentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal (a tribunal compoſed of thoſe with whom they had triumphed in the total deſtruction of the ancient goverment) were by no means ordinary men, or without very conſiderable talents and reſources. But with all their talents and reſources, and the apparent momentary extent of their power, we ſee the fate of their projects, their power, and their perſons. We ſee before our eyes the abſurdity of thinking to eſtabliſh order upon principles of confuſion, or with the materials and inſtruments of rebellion, to build up a ſolid and ſtable government.

Such partiſans of a republic amongſt us, as may not have the worſt intentions, will ſee, that the principles, the plans, the manners, the morals, and the whole ſyſtem of France, is altogether as adverſe to the formation and duration of any rational ſcheme of a republic, as it is to that of a monarchy abſolute or limited. It is indeed a ſyſtem which can only anſwer the purpoſes of robbers and murderers.

The tranſlator has only to ſay for himſelf that he has found ſome difficulty in this verſion. His original author, through

* See the tranſlation of the Hiſtory of the Briſſotins, by Camille Deſmoulins, printed for Owen, page 2.

haſte, perhaps, or through the perturbation of a mind filled with a great and arduous enterprize, is often obſcure. There are ſome paſſages too, in which his language requires to be firſt tranſlated into French, at leaſt into ſuch French as the academy would in former times have tolerated. He writes with great force and vivacity; but the language, like every thing elſe in his country, has undergone a revolution. The tranſlator thought it beſt to be as literal as poſſible; conceiving ſuch a tranſlation would perhaps be the moſt fit to convey the author's peculiar mode of thinking. In this way the tranſlator has no credit for ſtyle; but he makes it up in fidelity. Indeed the facts and obſervations are ſo much more important than the ſtyle, that no apology is wanted for producing them in any intelligible manner.

THE

The Author's Advertiſement.

THE whole truth has never been told from the beginning of the Revolution. Men were afraid that in telling it they ſhould hurt the cauſe of liberty; that they ſhould diſhonour it, that they ſhould diſcourage the people, that they ſhould embarraſs the progreſs of affairs. This circumſpection is proper, and even neceſſary, when nations owe their ſalvation to particular men, or particular bodies of men; but it becomes fatal when the nation only can be the means of ſaving itſelf. To conceal from a nation its own ſituation is to nurſe its lethargy. It cannot be led to make great efforts, and to give them their proper direction without being fully informed of that ſituation.

Such is our preſent poſition, and *ſuch the motive* which has engaged me to tear away entirely the veil which hides from us the cauſe of our evils.

It may, perhaps, be thought that I have been too ſevere towards many individuals, and to many bodies of men. I have told the truth; it was my duty to do ſo, and if I have any cauſe of regret, it is, that the rapidity with which this work has been written and printed, has not permitted me to bring together all the circumſtances which might be neceſſary to give a juſt idea of men and things.

There is, however, one body to whom I ought here to do juſtice; it is the Revolutionary Tribunal. I have elſewhere mentioned the miſchief done by that body; I muſt here relate the good they have ſince done. They conducted themſelves in Miranda's trial with the integrity, the firmneſs, the impartiality, that was to be expected from true Republicans. May they perſevere in the ſame ſpirit, and poſterity will pardon the other judgments with which they might juſtly be reproached.

This homage which I pay to this tribunal, I will pay to all my enemies, when they ſhall do what is right; for my pen is never carried

carried away by paſſion. I am under the dominion but of one paſſion when I write, the love of liberty. The deſire of ſeeing a Republican Government eſtabliſhed in my country, *and philoſophy triumphant every where*, that is the paſſion of my life; the diſappointment of which has ſometimes produced that violence of expreſſion of which I am accuſed.

Oh! how afflicting it is for a man who has ſeen the Revolution advanced to a point, *to which four years ago it would have been folly to imagine it could be carried!* How afflicting is it to ſee that Revolution falling back, while every thing was co-operating for its eſtabliſhment! After all the experience that has been obtained, ſhall all be loſt *to liberty, to other nations, to future revolutions*? No; if the nation can ſucceed in eſtabliſhing ORDER within her own boſom.—On that word depends the liberty of the univerſe, and it is for that alone I write.

Paris, May 22, 1793.
the 2d Year of the
French Republic.

J. P.

J. P. BRISSOT

TO HIS

CONSTITUENTS.

It is time that our fellow citizens, that foreign nations ſhould judge between us and our adverſaries. It is time that it ſhould be ſeen who the men are who wiſh to ſave the Republic, and who the men are who wiſh to deſtroy it. The evil is at its height; myſtery would be but a dangerous palliative.*

I HAVE announced from the commencement of the Convention, that there is in France a party of diſorganiſers, who aimed at the deſtruction of the Republic, even in its cradle.

The exiſtence of this party has been denied. All ſincere ſceptics ought now to be convinced

I now mean to prove, 1ſt. That this party of anarchiſts has domineered, and does domineer, over almoſt all the deliberations of the Convention, and all the operations of the Executive Council.

2d. That this party has been, and is ſtill, the ſole cauſe of all the evils, as well interior as exterior, which inflict France.

3. That the Republic cannot be ſaved but by taking rigorous meaſures to reſcue the repreſentatives of the nation from the deſpotiſm of this faction.

* The tranſlator prefixes the above little note, becauſe his author does ſo. The reader will find it repeated in the body of the work, p. 4.

I dread the abuſe of words; it is this abuſe that gives ſo much ſtrength to political quacks. It muſt therefore be our firſt buſineſs rightly to define that anarchy which knaves dexterouſly confound with patriotiſm. It muſt be defined before I preſent the hideous picture of its crimes, before I offer the remedy for our diſtempers.

The laws without execution; the conſtituted authorities impotent and diſgraced; crimes unpuniſhed; property of every kind attacked; perſonal ſafety violated; the morals of the people corrupted; no conſtitution; no government; no juſtice.—Such are the true features of this anarchy; ſuch is preciſely the ſyſtem uniformly followed by the party that I have denounced: a ſyſtem which has appeared to me ſubverſive of all republican government. For that reaſon, before I enter upon my ſubject, I muſt ſet forth the principles which have guided me, as well as all the other reſpectable deputies to whom I have the honour of calling myſelf a friend.

It was my opinion on coming into the Convention, that ſince Royalty was annihilated; ſince the Republic was eſtabliſhed: ſince all the powers of government were in the hands of the people, or their repreſentatives, the patriots ought to change the line of their march in conſequence of the change in their poſition.

It was my opinion that the *Inſurrectional movements* ought to ceaſe; becauſe, where there is no longer any tyranny to demoliſh, there ought no longer to *exiſt any force in a ſtate of inſurrection*; becauſe, where to build is our buſineſs alone, there nothing is wanted but order and reaſon.

I was aware that at the end of a Revolution, of three years ſtanding, it was difficult enough, all at once, to calm the commotions of the people; becauſe their agitation was the natural effect of the force of events; becauſe it was the firſt time that the people had ever been in the full exerciſe of their own authority; becauſe a people juſt emerging from ſlavery is a child, and that it is *quite natural* that they alſo ſhould ſometimes break to pieces their own work, and riſe againſt the very authorities that they themſelves had created.

But I thought at the ſame time that if thoſe popular impulſes which throw ſociety into terrible convulſions were continued *too long*, the people in that caſe would tear *themſelves* to pieces, conceiving they were only deſtroying their *inſtruments*.

It was my opinion, that they would ſoon come to regret the lethargic tranquillity of their former bondage, if care was not taken to procure for them a republican tranquillity, becauſe the people wiſhed to be happy; becauſe they more eſpecially wiſh it, when they have made great and long ſacrifices; becauſe happineſs does not at all conſiſt in the eternal repetition of violent convulſions, and if robbers live by ſeditions, the people live by repoſe.

My

BRITISH MUSEUM 30 61 MAR

My opinion was, that order alone could procure this tranquillity; that order conſiſted in a religious reſpect for the laws, the magiſtrates, property of all kinds, and perſonal ſafety; that this order could only reſult from the due execution of the laws; and that the laws could not be executed, but by inveſting all the conſtituted authorities with power, reſpect, and confidence.

I was of opinion, that it was eaſy to ſurround them with this power, this reſpect, this confidence; ſince, after the victory of the 10th of Auguſt, the patriotic party of neceſſity became maſters; ſince there were *ſome* good laws in exiſtence; ſince thoſe that were bad might be eaſily repealed, as there no longer remained any oppoſition; and ſince the miniſtry, the tribunals, the adminiſtrations of the departments, every thing was capable of being, and every thing, almoſt every where, actually was of a popular compoſition.

I was of opinion, that the eſtabliſhment of this proviſional order was the beſt anſwer that could be made to the royaliſts and to the ariſtocrats, who are eternally repeating, that order is incompatible with a Republican Conſtitution; and that this conſtitution does not ſuit a vaſt country, and a population of 25 millions.

I was of opinion, that the eſtabliſhment of that order was the ſureſt means of facilitating a ſupply of recruits, and proviſions for our armies; of lowering the price of the neceſſaries of life; of putting our manufacturers to work; of keeping up the credit of our aſſignats; and of accelerating the ſale of the national eſtates, and the eſtates of the emigrants.

I conſequently thought, that order was *a true revolutionary meaſure*; ſince on one ſide it tended to confirm our revolution at home; ſince on the other, it gave us powerful means of contending with our enemies abroad; ſince, finally, it rendered that revolution honourable and dear in the eyes of foreign nations, whoſe eſteem and affection to us it conciliated.

I conceived that this doctrine was as good and more uſeful for the citizen who does *not* poſſeſs any thing, than for the citizen who poſſeſſes property. Becauſe the firſt can live only by his conſtant labour, and that there can be no conſtant work where there is not a conſtant ſafety, both of life and of poperty, to the rich.

I thought then, that the trueſt enemies of the People, and of the Republic, were the anarchiſts, the preachers up of an Agrarian law, the inſtigators of ſedition.

I was of opinion, that all inſurrection could not but be fatal to the people, and to liberty, ſince it could be directed only againſt the repreſentatives of the people.

I conceived that this *doctrine of eternal inſurrection* muſt draw after it pillage and maſſacres, which muſt weary out and diſguſt the nation with the republican form of government.

 I thought

I thought that the diſſolution of this government could only be effected in two ways:

Either, that the Convention, ſubjugated by the anarchiſts, ſhould fall into contempt, and ſhould iſſue decrees that would prove revolting and deſtructive to all the departments, and they all ſhould demand the renovation of that aſſembly by an inſurrection againſt the factious; or, that our external enemies, availing themſelves of theſe convulſions, might invade the Republic; might ſhare it out among themſelves; or might ſecond the attempts of the firſt ambitious man who ſhould endeavour to re-eſtabliſh the firſt Conſtitution, or the ancient deſpotiſm.

I conſequently thought that all my efforts ought to be directed againſt the anarchiſts; ſince they were the moſt formidable enemies to the eſtabliſhment of the Republic.

Such is the ſyſtem that has uniformly guided me in the Convention. I have, therefore, never ceaſed to mark out the anarchiſts of all ſorts; both the fools who talk of nothing but diſorganizing, when it is our buſineſs to organize; and the knaves, whoſe ſole view is to acquire riches and dominion to themſelves by their revolutionary power; and the ariſtocrats and the royaliſts in diſguiſe, who coaleſce with them, in hopes, through diſorder, to reſtore the ancient government. I have never ceaſed to unmaſk their manœuvres, becauſe I ſaw in them the certain ruin of liberty.

It is in the ſame ſpirit that all thoſe courageous men have joined me in the conflict, who have firſt been delivered over to ignominy, and then to the daggers of aſſaſſins under the names of Rolandines, Girondines, &c. &c.

And have we not reaſon to dread the fatal influence of the anarchiſts? Take a view of all that has been done by the Convention, by the Executive Council, by our Armies! You will find this fatal influence every where alike.

It is time that truth ſhould be ſhewn ſtark naked. It is time that our fellow-citizens, that foreign nations, ſhould judge between us and our adverſaries. It is time that it ſhould be ſeen who the men are who wiſhed to ſave the Republic, and who the men are who wiſhed to deſtroy it. The evil is at its height. Myſtery would be but a dangerous palliative; myſtery would expoſe the Republic to ruin. For now the Republic only can work its own ſalvation; it muſt therefore be made acquainted with every thing of which it is now ignorant.

Far be from me the idea of wiſhing to diſparage the Convention; I would ſhed the laſt drop of my blood to ſee the Convention honoured and revered univerſally. Alas! what miracles would it not have wrought, *if it had been left to its own direction, diveſted of all external influence;* if reaſon only had preſided in its deliberations. Enlightened wiſdom, patriotiſm, ardent love of republicaniſm, incorruptible

corruptible probity—all theſe were united in this body! Theſe were the characters of a great majority of its members. Some *twenty men* have palſied and degraded it. Tears of blood ought to flow from the eyes of all Republicans *Liberty might ſo eaſily have found no other boundaries than thoſe of the world*, and now *ſhe muſt ſorrowfully confine herſelf within the limits of France.* Can ſhe ſolidly eſtabliſh herſelf even there? This is ſtill, and I ſpeak it with grief, this is ſtill a problem. And why is it ſo? Becauſe *a ſcore of anarchiſts* have uſurped in the Convention, and over the conſtituted authorities throughout the whole empire, an influence which reaſon alone ought to poſſeſs.

Citizens of the departments! you are confounded, annihilated! *What, twenty men?* Yes! Ye, who ſtill doubt it, follow me in the enumeration of facts. It is with the documents in my hand, that I will convince the credulous. Whatever good the Convention has done, the anarchiſts have found the ſecret of rendering null and void. Whatever miſchief it has done, they have dictated.

Follow the debates, you will there ſee on one hand, men always occupied with the care of making the laws, the conſtituted authorities, and private property, reſpected; and on the other ſide, men always employed to keep the people in agitation; to diſcredit by calumnies the conſtituted authority; to protect crimes by impunity, and to relax all the bonds of ſociety.

In the midſt of this conflict, you will ſee the majority of the Convention, pure, ſound, attached to principles, inceſſantly turning their attention towards the law, and inceſſantly too, ſuffering themſelves to be led by thoſe who deſtroy it. One verſe deſcribes them; but how ſhocking is this verſe!

——————— Vide melioro proboque;
Deteriora ſequor———

Thus, you will ſee them adopt unanimouſly the principle of a *departmental force*, propoſed by Buzot; that principle which would have inſured the independence of their deliberation; that principle which would have conſecrated the unity and indiviſibility of the Republic; that principle which, carried into execution, would have deprived the banditti of that force which they abuſed, *in order to hold the national repreſentation in ſlavery:* you will ſee them, then (affrighted by calumnious inſinuations, by the words ſo often repeated, *Prætorian Guards*; words which inſulted the love of liberty in Frenchmen,) abandon this propoſition. From that moment the violation of the freedom of opinion takes its date.

You will ſee them next applaud the project of a decree, propoſed by Buzot, againſt the inſtigators of murder; feel the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to incendiary writings, which every day inflamed the banditti,

banditti, and then bury in ſilence that ſalutary project which the anarchiſts ſo furiouſly oppoſed.

You will next ſee them ſanction with their unanimous votes, the excluſion of Members of the Convention from places during ſix years, which was propoſed by Genſonné—an excluſion which proved the diſintereſtedneſs of the party accuſed of aiming at the government; which condemned the ambition of the anarchiſts to ſilence; and which forced them to give a Conſtitution, pure and diſengaged from all ſecret and particular views—you will ſee them afterwards commit this wiſe decree, upon the re-iterated inſtances of the chiefs of the anarchiſts themſelves. For the firſt object of their ambition—is Places; their aim is to domineer to-day, and alſo to domineer to-morrow.

You will then ſee the Convention moved by the charges of triumvirate, and dictatorſhip, preferred againſt Robeſpierre and his accomplices; convinced that they had degraded and endeavoured to diſſolve the legiſlative aſſembly; and convinced that they wiſhed to lord it over France, welcome in conſequence the noble and ſpirited accuſation of Louvet againſt Robeſpierre and Marat. You will ſee them in the next inſtant, after the moſt miſerable juſtification of Robeſpierre from theſe denunciations, paſs to the order of the day, and thus inſure the triumph of the anarchiſts, under pretence *of buſying themſelves no longer about theſe little undertakers of revolutions*, to make uſe of the words of Barrere. Barrere, however, forgot, that not to puniſh *theſe little undertakers* is to encourage them, and that being encouraged, they find in their audacity the ſecret of forcing the Convention to be eternally buſied about them: the event has proved it.

You will ſee them, under a ſudden terror both of the views and the ſtrength of the Orleans party, receive almoſt unamiouſly the propoſition made by Louvet and Buzot, to baniſh the whole Bourbon family from the land of liberty. You will ſee them afterwards impoſed upon by a ſtage trick, and fatigued by vociferations, ſuſpend the execution of this ſalutary decree, and reſtore their leader to the anarchiſts; for a leader they were reſolved to have: Chabot avowed it in the roſtrum.

You will ſee them (the Convention) now penetrated with an holy horror at the maſſacres of the 2d of September.—The maſſacres which were only the engine of the conſpiracy, framed for the purpoſe of diſſolving the legiſlative aſſembly and forthwith inveſting the municipality of Paris, or rather thoſe who lead it, with ſupreme power.—The maſſacres (I ſay) which have made humanity ſhudder, ſullied the revolution for ever, and alienated foreign nations from us for many a day.

You will ſee them one moment, drive from them with indignation the accomplices and apologiſts of thoſe maſſacres, who did not bluſh loudly

loudly to ſtile theſe enormities *the grand creed of Jacobin liberty*;* You will ſee them order the proſecution of thoſe maſſacres on the motion of Genſonné, and order it the next day after the condemnation of Louis, for the purpoſe of proving to the world, their juſtice and impartiality. You will then ſee the Convention affrighted by falſe terrors dexterouſly ſpread about, reſpecting the renewal of that St. Bartholomew, not only ſuſpend that proceeding, and thus plunge France and all nations in mourning, but even confer the moſt honourable and the moſt important miſſions upon theſe atrocious *Septembrizers*,† who, all covered with blood and with mud, obliged the departments to go as it were on their knees before them.

You will ſee them firſt ſwayed by political reaſons, by the intereſt of the nation, by the intereſt of the Convention, by the neceſſity of paying, at leaſt for once, their homage to the "*Sovereignty of the* "*People*"—You will ſee them, I ſay, incline by a great majority to the plan of referring to the people, the ratification of the ſentence of Louis, and then immediately yielding to calumnious inſinuations, to vociferations, to terrors, to ſophiſms of verſatile men, abandon that party which would have cruſhed all factions, and deprived the Kings, who were then combined againſt us, or who at that time kept neuter, of a new pretext for war, and the means of making all their people fanatics againſt the French Revolution.

You will ſee them (the Convention) one moment, indignant at the pillage of the 26th of February, deviſed to excite the citizens of Paris againſt the Convention, and to make it contemptible, order the puniſhment of thoſe flagitious acts, and then reſign to oblivion the expiation of a crime, which more than any other enables us to appreciate the audacity of the factious, the weakneſs of the conſtituted authorities, and the depravity both of the people who pillaged, and of the people who ſuffered the pillage—a crime which, of all others, was the beſt adapted to raiſe the hopes of our external enemies, and to increaſe the ſurfeit of liberty.

You will next ſee them thoroughly convinced of the impoſſiblity of ſetting bounds to the inteſtine diſſentions raiſed in the very boſom of the Convention, and to the mutual and perpetual accuſations from the two parties, without bringing the nation to decide between them; you will ſee them, I ſay, repeatedly receive with tranſport the motion for calling together the primary aſſemblies—a motion ſo often made by Genſonné and Gaudet. You will preſently ſee them repeal theſe decrees, and yield to falſe terrors, reſpecting the troubles the meeting of thoſe aſſemblies *might* occaſion—Terrors, under which the anarchiſts diſguiſe their *fears of the judgment of the People*.

You will ſee them, convinced that the goodneſs of laws muſt depend upon the ſobriety with which they are deliberated upon, and

* A phraſe of Collet d'Herbois to the Jacobins.

† An epithet of the Pruſſian Cloots, a title invented by him, to immortalize the authors of the maſſacres of September.

that

that the reſpect for the law depends alſo upon the reſpect in which the legiſlator himſelf is held, adopt and rigidly maintain the decree which prohibited the galleries from giving any mark of approbation or diſapprobation :—and never did the Convention ſhew a proſpect more pleaſing to reaſon and liberty ; never did the anarchiſts poſſeſs leſs influence. You will then ſee them allow this decree to be violated, and this ſalutary law to be torn to pieces, by thoſe men who deteſt tranquility, and dignity of deliberation, becauſe they expoſe the nakedneſs of their entire inſignificance.

In ſhort, run over all the laws of the Convention, and you will ſee the very beſt decrees, paſſed upon the moſt mature diſcuſſion, repealed in a ſingle inſtant.

What then is the ſource of all theſe changes ?

With one ſingle Word you might compoſe the greateſt part of the hiſtory of THREE *aſſemblies. This word is*—FEAR.

FEAR ſanctified the *reviſion of the Conſtitution*, and occaſioned its being adopted.

Fear of Republicaniſm, in the time of the legiſlative aſſembly, ranged the independents on the ſide of the Feuillants ; and *Fear* has in a great meaſure produced all the variations in the Convention.

Fear does not always ſhew itſelf under the ſame character. Accordingly the anarchiſts have the art to vary the form, in order the more effectually to excite it ; and through *Fear*, to drag mankind along with them.

To men independent by ſyſtem, and diſtruſtful from jealouſy, they pointed out thoſe republicans who were the friends to order, as a party directed by men of deep ambition, who meant to engroſs all benefits to themſelves. Their talents gave colour to the accuſation ; their virtues made their crime the more dangerous ; order was repreſented as their maſk ; the name of the law as their watch-word. So that the fear of wearing the livery of that party drove away this claſs of independents from the cauſe of order.

To the ſuſpicious men diſtruſtful of good, and credulous of evil, they negligently dropped certain doubts, (which they even pretended to repel) inſinuating *corruption* among the friends of order. They traced back their former connections ; they obſerved upon their connections with miniſters, and the conformity of their language with *that* of the Feuillants ; and thus the *Fear* of treaſon made them ready to take treaſon upon truſt ; and they reſiſted order from *Fear* of appearing to be in concert with the corrupt, and the tools of miniſterial power.

To men who deſired to ſtamp upon their deciſions the characters of principles and of exact juſtice, and who would not condemn without hearing, nor without proofs, they ſaid, " *we are in a ſtate* " *of revolution* ;" and if they ſtill ſtood up for juſtice, they were given to underſtand, that ſo much reſiſtance might make themſelves

ſuſpected

ſuſpected of being accomplices. *Nam qui deliberant deſciverunt*, to deliberate is to be guilty of treaſon; that is the maxim of the anarchiſts. *Fear* of ſuſpicion then made them to contribute to injuſtice; and this is the reaſon why nobody has proteſted againſt ſo many decrees of accuſation, the iniquity of which time has demonſtrated. Men were afraid of being ſuſpected as accomplices, and that is the reaſon why men have ſtood up againſt the cauſe of order; after that the anarchiſts had found out the ſecret to render order odious, by tranſlating it into a term ſynonimous to ariſtocracy.

There is little freedom of opinion where the fear of calumny prevails; there is ſtill leſs, when that calumny may lead *to a phiſical aſſaſſination*, as it certainly does lead to moral aſſaſſination. For there are few men who have ſtrength of mind enough at once to brave (I will not ſay death) *but the inceſſantly renewed fear of death*, and the daily torture of unjuſt reproach. It is with this two-edged weapon that the anarchiſts have found means to bring under the yoke, and to harneſs to their triumphant car *the ariſtocrats of property*, who dreaded *phyſical* aſſaſſination, and the pretended independents, who dreaded a moral aſſaſſination.

A very curious ſtudy is—The progreſs of fear; and the addreſs which it employs in its juſtification; but a moſt melancholy ſtudy is that of the miſchief it has done.

At the outſet of the Convention, almoſt all the members, diſguſted and ſhocked at the anarchical maxims, and the inſolent boldneſs of men, who made no ſecret of their reſolution to be our maſters, received almoſt unanimouſly every propoſition which tended to humble and cruſh them. At that time, on arriving from his home, every deputy wiſhed to prove to his conſtituents his reſpect for order, and for *the equality of the departments*. Inſenſibly the members begin to go a little about, *to hold converſe with the terrors of the Pariſian name*; they hear the blood thirſty motions of the Jacobin Club; they learn with horror the *unknown details* of the maſſacre of the 2d of September, They ſtand in dread of the renewal of it. *Above all, they ſtand in dread of being themſelves the victims*; they imagine that in making ſome ſacrifices, they may appeaſe the anarchiſts; they are therefore complaiſant with regard to their inaccuracy in accounts, and to the deficit; complaiſant to the uſurpation of authority; *complaiſant to robbery and murder.*

The ſame *complaiſance*, together with the *fear* that dictates it, brings over *the executive council, the inferior adminiſtrations, the tribunals, and the very men who had ſhewn the greateſt horror at the ſyſtem of the anarchiſts.* Every one ſays to himſelf, " if the Convention " is obliged to capitulate with a gang of robbers, *how can I have* " *the folly to think of contending with them?*"

They do more; they give the name of patriotiſm to theſe acts of weakneſs dictated by perſonal fear. They deceive themſelves. They believe that they have nothing but peace for their object, when their real object is the deſire of perſonal ſafety; they contend ſtrenuouſly againſt thoſe who combat this weakneſs; and to juſtify

 themſelves

themſelves, they begin to ſuſpect the juſtneſs of the judgment of thoſe who are now their adverſaries; and they end by calumniating the honeſty of their intentions.

Weak men, whoſe honeſty I will not accuſe, behold now, what you have done! behold the abyſs into which your fatal ſyſtem of eternal compromiſe and conceſſion has precipitated us. If we are at this moment the ſlaves of the anarchiſts, it is you who have prepared, who have rivetted our chains.

For what has been the fruit of your complaiſance to them? The banditti have had the audaciouſneſs to raiſe their head: from being the accuſed, they have transformed themſeves into the accuſers: from ſilent ſpectators of our debates, they are become the judges of them. Yeſterday at the feet of the Convention—to-day they trample its dignity under their feet; maſters of the Convention, through *diſorder*, they would extend their domination over all France, and eternize it by *diſorder*. It is the proceeding of ambitious agitators. *Rerum* (ſays Tacitus) *potiri volunt; honores, quos quietâ republicâ, deſperant, perturbata, conſ. qui ſe poſſe, arbitrantur.**

Trace *their* ſteps with me!

Theſe are the men who, making themſelves maſters of the roſtrum, have baniſhed from it all wiſe and regular diſcuſſions; who by concerted motions of order, have inceſſantly brought on diſorder; and who have oppoſed the cenſorial inſtitutions propoſed by Bancal and Millinet; inſtitutions which, doubtleſs, would have deſtroyed all the influence of clamour and abuſe, and have reſtored the influence of men of real information, now condemned to ſilence.

They are the men who, ſullying the roſtrum with perpetual denunciations, have reduced men of virtue to the neceſſity of putting themſelves on the defenſive; when ſuch only ought to have been accuſers; and who, afterwards imputing that very defence as a crime, have thruſt aſide their juſtification under the pretext of avoiding perſonalities; becauſe they had exhauſted calumny, and dreaded the refutation of it. Thus they every day vented freſh calamities, and paſſed to the order of the day, when the time of juſtification arrived.

They are the men who, perpetual dictators of the *committee of the inſpectors of the hall*, have found out the ſecret of filling the galleries with creatures of their own, hired to applaud their extravagances, and to hoot their adverſaries; who have tolerated and projected, even within its very walls, the ſale of the moſt opprobrious publications againſt the Convention, under the cloak of the liberty of the preſs; that liberty which they have not afterwards bluſhed to violate, in order to prevent the circulation of republican and anti-anarchical journals through the departments. For has it ever been attempted to reform the abuſes which make the circumference of the

* *Tranſlator.*] The excellent paſſage applied by M. Briſſot to his adverſaries, may with equal propriety be applied to himſelf. The judicious reader will extend the application as far and as often as he ſees it neceſſary.

hall

hall a *ſtage of gladiators*, and its environs the *lurking places of aſſi-nation?* Has it been attempted to puniſh the ſo frequent imprecations, outrages, and inſurrections of the galleries? No! people pretended not to hear them. This diſſimulation affected to be prudence; *quod ſegnitia erat, ſapientia vocabatur*, (ſays Tacitus.)

They are the men who, having the *committee of general ſafety* in their hands, and always in their hands, availed themſelves of the error the Aſſembly fell into upon the aſſaſſination of Pelletier, in order to drive their adverſaries out of that Committee, and to take poſſeſſion of it themſelves; they are the men who, being maſters of the Committee, availed themſelves of its reſources to conſpire againſt the republicans, friends of order, rather than to ſuppreſs the ariſtocrats; who protecting the incendiary Pere Duchene and Marat, have haraſſed the writers againſt anarchy by their perſecutions; who multiplying arreſts againſt them, have never, in ſpite of the decrees to that effect, given any account of ſuch arreſts to the Aſſembly: who have buried every thing in miſtery, even the denunciation of conſpiracies againſt the Convention. And this committee continues not only unpuniſhed, but Lord and Maſter.

They are the men who have been the authors of *all the farces*, that were ſucceſſively played at the bar; whether to intimidate the Aſſembly, to impede them in their progreſs, to ſow diſcord among the members, or to diſgrace and diſſolve the Convention.

They are the men who ſtirred up the accuſation of the imaginary million and a half which calumny had diſtributed among the members of weight and influence in the Legiſlative Aſſembly; who were the authors of the petitions from the workmen employed on the camp at Paris, ſtiling themſelves the *Nation*, and wanting to put their own indemnity on a level with that of the deputies; of thoſe inſolent petitions againſt the pretended moderatiſm of the Aſſembly, as well as of thoſe humiliating leſſons which pretended federaliſts came ſo often to read them.

They are the men who, after having extorted millions from the Convention to keep down the price of bread at Paris (that is to ſay, *after having taxed all France for the benefit of Paris alone*) in the name of the ſections, never ceaſed to weary the Convention with petitions to fix the price of all ſorts of grain; becauſe they knew that this eſtabliſhed price would neceſſarily bring on a famine, and that famine would neceſſarily produce an inſurrection againſt the Convention, the diſſolution of that body, and the reſtoration of Royalty. It was in the ſame ſpirit that Maury wanted the ſuppreſſion of taxes; and it is not the only ſimilarity between the anarchiſts and the ariſtocrats of the Conſtituent Aſſembly.

They are the men who, after having ſolicited thoſe addreſſes, thoſe incendiary petitions, and thoſe inſolent deputations, diſavowed them, and hypocritically condemned them, when the Convention, irritated at this conduct, was going to proceed ſeverely againſt them; and who carrying their perfidy ſtill farther, imputed them to their

adverſaries

adverſaries,* *as they have always imputed to them the commotions, the pillages, and the burnings, which they themſelves adviſe or execute.*

They are the men who have inceſſantly oppoſed the decrees for public education, becauſe they knew that the *education* of the people is the moſt powerful antidote againſt revolts, and famine; and above all, againſt the quackery of agitators; *and education is annihilated.*

They are the men who, for the perpetuation of their own power, finding it neceſſary to perpetuate diſorders, have divided ſociety into two claſſes; thoſe who have ſomething, and thoſe who have nothing, the *Sans Culottes* and *the Men* of *property*; who have excited one of theſe claſſes againſt the other; who in order to ruin the latter claſs, wanted to have an army compoſed excluſively of perſons, all of the former claſs, and paid *compulſorily* by the latter, and this army has been decreed.

They are the men who, in order to effect the diſſolution of the Convention, have endeavoured to divide it into two parties: while (ſetting aſide themſelves) the whole Convention has but one ſpirit; who have invented the diſtinction of a *right hand ſide* and of a *left hand ſide*; and the denomination of *appellants* and *non-appellants*; who have charged the opinions of the former as a crime, and a title for the reproach and hatred of the people; that opinion ſo politic, ſo ſalutary, ſo honourable to the people; and who have never ceaſed to raiſe up againſt their adverſaries, addreſſes, poignards, and ſcaffolds.

They are the men who, not being able to ſucceed in diſſolving the Convention by this line of demarcation between the appellants and the non-appellants, have endeavoured to trench upon the complete and entire ſtate of the national repreſentation, in pointing out TWENTY-TWO of its members whom they feared the moſt, and loudly called for their expulſion ſometimes, and ſometimes for their murder; and the Aſſembly, after having declared the petition againſt theſe twenty-two proſcribed men to be calumnious, has ſuffered, has been forced to ſuffer, the commonalty, and many ſections of Paris, to ordain with ſtill more fury and inſolence the *compulſory* ſignature of that petition! The Convention has ſuffered the vileſt means, and the moſt illegal, to be employed to force the citizens to ſign. Would ſuch outrages be ſtill unpuniſhed if the Convention was free, or if it enjoyed that power with which ſuch an aſſembly ought to be ſurrounded?

But is it poſſible to miſtake the end, the real end which the anarchiſts propoſe to themſelves in their cruel earneſtneſs againſt the twenty-two proſcribed perſons?

When Cromwell wiſhed to get the command of the long parliament of England, in order to diſſolve it afterwards, he ordered alſo an expulſion of all true republicans; who could not endure either a king or an uſurper. Colonel Pride arreſted and impriſoned, by

* *Tranſlator.*] The practice of the French revolutioniſts from the beginning againſt the ariſtocrats.

Cromwell's

Cromwell's order, ſixty of the firmeſt members; he drove away one hundred more, and the remainder, devoted to the perfidious Cromwell, were in his hands, nothing but *a machine for making decrees*, which he broke preſently after, as ſoon as the machine thought of revolting againſt the workman who put it in motion.

Well! this is *Colonel Pride's purge* (as it was called at the time,) which they want to repeat in the Convention; becauſe the chiefs of the anarchiſts expect from it the ſame effects; and becauſe they ſee that the diſſolution of the Convention would make room for the throne, which is preparing itſelf for an uſurper.

If this conſtant object of domination and of the diſſolution of the Convention has been marked out by any events; if there is any event which proves with the higheſt degree of evidence, on one ſide, the wickedneſs and the power of the anarchiſts; and on the other ſide, the impotence and the abaſement of the Convention, it is the forced, the commanded impunity of the conſpiracy of the 10th of March, the impunity of Marat, the impunity of the Commune and of certain ſections of Paris: in a word, the impunity of the chiefs of the Jacobins of Paris.

Is there, in fact, one man of reflection, who having brought together into one view all the circumſtances of that audacious conſpiracy of the 10th of March, who after reading and meditating on that eloquent, but too delicate diſcourſe of Vergniaud, and that profound publication of Lovet, muſt not be convinced that the exiſtence of that conſpiracy is phyſically demonſtrated? With what art did they, two days before, bring on the queſtion of the permanency of the Convention! It offered ſo fine an opportunity to the aſſaſſins, to comprehend in a ſingle blow, in a ſingle night, in a ſingle maſſacre, all the heads of all the Republicans.

With what art did they dreſs out, in the colours of patriotiſm, the *Revolutionary Tribunal*; that inſtrument, created by the conſpirators, either to deter the ſimple citizens who might otherwiſe attempt to oppoſe themſelves to their fury, or perhaps to deſtroy by the ſword of the law thoſe republican deputies, who might eſcape the dagger of the aſſaſſins! Ferocious men! they would ſurpaſs Cromwell himſelf in cruelty; for Cromwell impriſoned the members of parliament who diſpleaſed him, but he did not aſſaſſinate them by means of the law. With what addreſs did they take care utterly to remove from their odious inſtitution all thoſe ſalutary forms, which are the protection of innocence! They would not admit juries. They feared that they might perſuade themſelves to entertain a good conſcience; and as to the anarchiſts, conſcience is with them but a counter-revolutionary word. The aſſembly, however, refuſed to violate its principle. They obtained their end in another manner;—they inſiſted that the jurors * ſhould give their

* If, indeed, they can be called jurors, whom the party accuſed can neither chooſe nor reject, and who are perpetual in that office—it is, in truth, a commiſſion of judges.

reſpective

reſpective voices aloud in court!—Aloud in court! *When it was known that this tribunal too, would have its galleries under the direction of the conſpirators!*—Aloud in court! When it was known that *this mode alone would have enabled the Convention to have choſen the vileſt wretches for members of the jury!*—Is it not ſaying to the jurymen, "either you ſhall periſh yourſelf, or you ſhall make them "periſh whom we ſhall mark out to you?" Gaudet was not afraid to aſſert this in the roſtrum amidſt the bellowings of thoſe monſters. The aſſembly thought as Gaudet thought; it condemned the principle. So irreſiſtible was the influence of the conſpirators, *that they made them decree over again, in contradiction to all principle, that the jurors ſhould be choſen by them, the Convention!* without doubt that the hatred which this tribunal ſhould heap upon its own head, might ultimately return back upon the Convention.*

The ſcrutiny at once deceived their hopes. Good men prevailed —they were to compoſe this dreadful tribunal. Anarchy, in its turn, trembled for the heads of its chiefs; anarchy was on the point of paſſying this Revolutionary Tribunal; but the neceſſity of giving the ſuffrage aloud in court; but the terror ſpread abroad by the people about the aſſaſſins, drove away the friends of juſtice and order, who had been juſt nominated, and they left their places to ſuch men. Would you appreciate their value? Read the minutes of their proceedings; their interrogatories; their judgments — They make one's hair perfectly ſtand on end! *Yes, if it is a tribunal fit to make one regret the Baſtiles of Deſpotiſm*, if it is an inſtitution proper for ripening and rapidly bringing back a counter-revolution in favour of loyalty, it is alſo a tribunal as arbitrary in its forms, as abſurd, as partial in its proofs, as iniquitous in ſome of its judgments.

It was by a ſimilar tribunal that the counter-revolution was haſtened in England at the end of the laſt century. For the anarchiſts of that time, fearing alike the juries and the ordinary forms, decreed an high court of juſtice, which diſpatched the victims handed over to it, in a moſt military manner; which ſpread abroad a general conſternation and indignation every where. Such was the tribunal which was in ſome meaſure of ſome ſervice to Cromwell and afterwards to Charles the Second! Such was the tribunal ſo much execrated, as to make the people receive the expulſion of the long parliament with delight.

What enlightened Member of the Convention has not clearly ſeen the fatal conſequences of this inſtitution? What member has not ſeen that it was the work of vengeance and of ambition, eſpecially

* *Tranſlator*) The reader ought to take notice, that the French inſtitution of juries reſembles our's *only in name*, and it is formed upon different principles, and in ſome particulars the very reverſe of our's.

at the time when Robeſpierre and Lindet perfidiouſly ſwelled the liſt of crimes that were to be ſubject to its judgement; doubtleſs in order that none of the bold writers who had combated their party ſhould eſcape their fury! What member did not revolt at the thirſt of ſlaughter which ran through their cruelties planned in cold blood! Fury in the convulſions of the face, criminality in the eyes, arrogance in the tone of voice; is not this the picture of Robeſpierre? The indignation was univerſal; but the conſpirators were abſolutely maſters, and ſilence became a matter of neceſſity.

Did not their deſpotiſm diſplay itſelf with ſtill more audacity in the nomination of commiſſioners, whom they ſent into many departments among themſelves with an impudence beyond all belief? Did they not violate all the uſual forms in the nominations? Did they not publicly exclude all appellants as ſo many traitors? and if they artfully ſlipped into their ſcandalous liſt the names of reſpectable men, who had no participation in their opinion, nor in their crimes, was it not done for the ſake of impoſing on the reſpectable part of the departments, and to give ſome authority and weight to their arbitrary and tyrannic deciſions? Deciſions in which thoſe reſpectable men could have no influence, ſince they were always in the minority in every commiſſion.

Ah! what was the object of theſe commiſſions? The neceſſity of impoſing upon the departments in regard to the views of the conſpiracy; of irritating them againſt the deputies, the friends of order, to juſtify the aſſaſſination of thoſe deputies. It was the ſame object, which had dictated the decree, by which the deputies were prohibited from writing journals. They hoped to exterminate or render thoſe inactive who remained under their power; they hoped to frighten all the journal writers out of the Convention.—A narrow computation of little conſpirators! They knew not that a revolution, at all times and in all places, brings out men of courage, who fear not to brave death, in order to reveal the truth to the people.

Since every thing concurs to prove to an impartial man, that the conſpiracy of the 10th of March had been contrived by the anarchiſts; that it had no other object, than to ſecure the government in their own hands by the maſſacre of the Republican deputies; that the Revolutionary Tribunal was only inſtituted with a view to ſtrengthen their power by terror; that the ſending, that the choice of the commiſſioners had no other object, than to get the departments to approve of their domination: how can we explain the ſilence of the Convention upon a crime, whoſe object was ſo atrocious, the proof of which was in the hands of the Convention, and the authors of which publicly avowed themſelves? How can we avoid concluding, that this ſilence was commanded by the men who ruled the aſſembly, and who were themſelves dipped in the conſpiracy; by thoſe who, after having propoſed it to the Jacobins, came then coldly to watch over the execution of it, in the boſom

of

of the Convention; by thoſe who complained bitterly that their victims did not give themſelves up complaiſantly at the place of ſacrifice; by thoſe, who after having ſhared the departments among themſelves, wanted alſo to ſhare the adminiſtration? That adminiſtration which they would have uſurped, had it not been for the courageous diſcourſe of Lareveilliere Lepaux; had it not been for the ſteady reſiſtance of Bancal! That adminiſtration which the chiefs of the conſpirators then affected to deſpiſe, becauſe even their own people had ſeen through their ſecret; that adminiſtration, which they have ſince found the means to appropriate to themſelves under another form!—*for ambitious men twiſt and turn, but never abandon their object.* In a word, what concluſion can be drawn from all theſe facts, but that the Convention is under the yoke of theſe very conſpirators?

Has not the laſt triumph of Marat brought this truth to full proof? What! that man whoſe ſoul is all kneaded up of blood and dirt; that man, the diſgrace of the revolution, and of humanity, who polluting the Convention by his preſence, and degrading it every day by his exceſſes, has done more hurt to the eſtabliſhment of the republic than all the foreign armies; that man, whoſe unpuniſhed crimes, with the maſſacres of the 2d of September, have put back *the univerſal revolution of mankind for whole ages*; that man, who was convicted of having preached up royalty, the dictatorſhip, the abaſement of the Convention, the maſſacre of the deputies, and the counter-revolution; that man has remained ſix months unpuniſhed, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of all the departments, and for ſix months has been daily inſulting the Convention.

At laſt this man, after a ſitting of twenty-two hours, is decreed to be in a ſtate of accuſation, in ſpite of the horrible imprecations of the banditti diſperſed through the galleries, in ſpite of ninety-two deputies, who did not bluſh to undertake his defence, and to exhauſt all their ſtratagems to ſave him; he reſiſts the law; from his hiding-place he braves the aſſembly, and they leave him unpuniſhed! *He fixes the day for his trial, preſents himſelf there with audacity, ſurrounded by his own people, plays the part of an accuſer rather than that of a perſon accuſed—rather that of a judge than that of an accuſer; that of the ſupreme head of the Convention, and of the nation, than of a judge! Even there he tramples the decrees under his feet, drags the Convention through the mire, and boaſts of his crimes.*

And the tribunal, after a moſt blameable farce, where they amuſe themſelves with my trial, inſtead of Marat's, after a ridiculous interrogatory, after a panegyric upon Marat, *pronounced by the public accuſer*; in a word, after having ſported with all forms, and even with the decree itſelf, this tribunal, in a judgement announced beforehand, acquit Marat; though before and after, they condemn cooks and coachmen to death, for holding ariſtocratical

ariſtocratical and monarchical language: certainly very much to be condemned, which, without doubt, deſerved puniſhment, but which the law never intended to puniſh with death.

And this man is carried in triumph into the midſt of the Convention itſelf, which he came ſtill farther to outrage! He appears there as a conqueror! and Danton called this day of mourning for virtue and liberty, a beautiful day! Oſſelin demanded the inſertion of that ſcandalous judgment in the bulletin of the day! and the aſſembly (if we muſt always decorate with that name an hundred members, who, for the moſt part, were compoſed of the protectors of Marat, or of thoſe protected by him, and that aſſembly) ſtood dumb, diſmayed, ſhutting their eyes upon the prevarication, the violation of the law, and the outrages done to the national repreſentation.

I now put it to every man of candour, where is the ſupreme authority at this moment lodged? Is it in the Convention, or in the Revolutionary Tribunal? Is it in that tribunal, or in Marat? Is it in Marat, or in the factious band which protects him?

Oh ſhame! Oh grief! Marat above the Convention! What enemy of France has not been intoxicated with this ſcandalous triumph? What republican has not been wounded to the ſoul, and has not deſpaired of liberty? What man has not ſaid to himſelf, no, the Convention is not free; were it free, it would not have ſuffered itſelf to have been diſhonoured by ſuch enormous crimes; were it free, it would have ſuſpended the court, and brought the members of it to trial for having outraged juſtice, and the repreſentation of the ſovereignty?

Is it not farther the ſad concluſion that muſt be drawn, when we bring to mind all the uſurpations of power, and all the violations of law, of which the municipality and the ſections of Paris have been conſtantly rendering themſelves guilty ſince the 10th of Auguſt, and which have always remained unpuniſhed? For which of the laws is it that they carried into execution?

When the late municipality is ſeen in the face of the legiſlative aſſembly to arrogate the ſupreme power to itſelf, to caſhier the department, to give a name to the new one, then to take away all power of action from it; to refuſe all correſpondence with the miniſter of the interior, to open a correſpondence with all the municipalities, to ſend about commiſſioners every where, in order to gather the whole nation round about its car; to diſobey the decree which ordained the giving in the public accounts, to diſobey the decree which ordered the election of a new municipality, and even to force the aſſembly to re-commit their decree:

When one ſees the ſections, participating in this delirium, give their committees a right to arreſt the citizens, multiply theſe arreſts to a frightful degree, make laws upon the mode of nomination, and perſevere in ſpite of the decrees in the mode of election, by a poll inſtead of a ballot:

When one ſees the new municipality follow the errors of the old one, in contempt of the ſovereignty of the people, arrogate to

itſelf the right of expelling the members who diſpleaſed them; force by a thouſand vexations the mayor, whoſe principles were a reſtraint upon them, to give in his reſignation, and defer the organization of the public force, in ſpite of ten decrees, becauſe that force might in the end protect the execution of the law:

When one ſees that municipality command the national repreſentation, to ſacrifice enormous and perpetual ſums of money, ſometimes to re-imburſe letters of credit, ſometimes for the ſupplies of corn and bread, and ſometimes for the expence of the police:

When one ſees a ſingle committee, in ſpite of the commune, the ſections, the Convention, *refuſe to account for enormous ſums dilapidated, and the members of the committee not only remaining unpuniſhed, but even ſitting in the boſom of the Convention, but daring even to accuſe the moſt virtuous men:*

When one ſees this municipality, in ſpite of decrees, ſhut the barriers and the play-houſes at their pleaſure, forbid ſuch or ſuch pieces, ſuch or ſuch journals, order to their bar the deputies, generals, and miniſters, enjoin them to diſmiſs certain ſubaltern functionaries, and ſend inquiſitorial commiſſioners to their houſes to watch over the execution of their decrees:

When one ſees this municipality make laws upon the recruiting ſervice, upon the certificates of civiſm, changing at every moment the form of them, eſtabliſh them, annul them again, then allow them only to ſuch as had ſigned the petition againſt the twenty-two proſcribed deputies, or only to ſuch as had the approbation of the popular ſocieties, *and thus by their own authority conſtitute theſe ſocieties in a corporate capacity.*

When one ſees this municipality at length inſolently demand of the Convention, whether it is in a ſtate to preſerve the public weal, openly avow the deſign of re-placing the Convention, declare itſelf in a ſtate of inſurrection againſt the Convention, encourage the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt its members, in its own boſom form a central committee for all the municipalities, and call to its aſſiſtance troops from different departments:

In ſeeing this chain of criminal acts, and the impunity of them, ſo much audacity on one ſide, and ſo much weakneſs on the other, it is impoſſible that the citizens of the departments, and that all foreigners, ſhould not conclude *either that the national repreſentation lies in the commune of Paris, or that that commune is ſuperior to it,* ſince the Convention is neither at liberty to make a decree againſt the committee, nor has power to enforce the execution of its own decrees.

What do I ſay? No! it is not in the commonality of Paris that the exerciſe of the national ſovereignty reſides, *It reſides in a club, or rather in a ſcore of thoſe robbers who direct that club;* who oblige all the authorities that are conſtituted by the nations, to bend under them.

It is there, it is in that club where the anarchiſts of the Convention domineer. It is there that the decrees are fabricated

which

which are to come upon them with the force of a command. It is there, that under the title of petitions or addreſſes, orders are fabricated which are intimated to them. It is in that warehouſe of calumny, that they every day diſorganize every thing, the miniſtry, the adminiſtrations, and the army. It is from thence that the deputies, the miniſters, and the generals, are called upon to make their appearance before them, and humbly bend the knee. It is there that they give in their accounts, that they make their anſwers to the denunciations againſt them. It is there they pay obedience to the decrees of the club, who expel or condemn their ſubalterns. It is there that, occupied in accuſing the Girondins of governing every thing, and of uſurping every thing, the leaders of the club, drawing to themſelves all authority, go-govern all, carry off all money, bargains, places, commiſſions, nominations to tribunals, &c. &c.

It is from thence, that the orders go to the revolutionary tribunal, to adjourn, to condemn, or acquit. It is there that the *accuſer of this tribunal* complains that blood is not ſhed in ſufficient abundance. It is there that the jurymen of this tribunal promiſe very ſoon to bring to the ſcaffold the heads of thoſe deputies who are enemies to the Jacobins. It is there that they make it a ſport to trample the decrees under foot; to outrage the Convention, whoſe appellant deputies they make it a point of conſcience to encourage themſelves in poignarding. It is there, that to engage the mob to maſſacres, they corrupt the morality of the people; they preach up the neceſſity of levelling all fortunes and all perſons, and to carry every were the ſcythe of equality. It is from thence that originate the numberleſs writings which tend to ſow the ſame principles, the ſame hatred, the ſame ſeditions in the departments. It is from thence that the emiſſaries, who go about preaching the war of the Sans Culottes againſt the people of property, &c. &c. are commiſſioned and *paid*.

Every day, every night, are witneſſes of theſe atrocious enterpriſes. Every night the ſpirit of the people is irritated, and exaſperated againſt the Convention. Every night men go to bed with rage in their hearts, ſwearing to exterminate the enemies of the Jacobins. Upon their return to their homes, in their family, in their warehouſe, in their ſections, the ſimple and credulous artiſan communicates to every thing around him the contagion with which he is himſelf infected. It is thus that the public ſpirit is ſucceſſively poiſoned, and that the ſeditious heat themſelves upon daily calumnies.

Yet I aſk any man who has ſtudied the baſis of republics, can it exiſt at the ſide of ſo active a focus of conſpirators, who communicate with thoſe of the municipality of ſections, and other clubs of the empire? Can there exiſt a Convention free and independent, a government and juſtice?

Gaudet has ſaid, "if two hundred counter-revolutioniſts were "to preach the ſame maxims in a club, at the ſide of the Con-"vention, they would all ſoon periſh upon the ſcaffold." What

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have names to do here? The crime is the ſame, and that of the Jacobins of Paris remains unpuniſhed.

For in a word, who among them preaching up murder or pillage, or carrying them into execution, has been denounced, and handed over to the Tribunal? Who among them, openly conſpiring againſt the Convention, has been brought to the ſcaffold? What do I ſay? Which among them has any one dared to arreſt? No! Inviolability is no longer a privilege of the national repreſentation. It is the qualification of that band of robbers who violate this principle every day. Their image reſembles the head of Meduſa; it petrifies every thing. One trembles at the idea of purſuing a robber, who decorates himſelf with the name of Jacobin. It is almoſt an act of courage to be preſent at the denunciations againſt them, but they ſoon fall into the duſt of the committees.

Yes, I declare, from the deep conviction of my ſoul, that has long as there exiſts no power able to repreſs the crimes of the leaders of the Jacobins, there can exiſt no Convention, no Government. All the powers are neceſſarily with the Club. There is the legiſlative body; or rather there is the body above the law—above all the conſtituted authorities. *There is the abſolute power of France.*

I have ſhewn that the club of the anarchiſts was the ſovereign of the Convention. Since the 10th of Auguſt it is ſo of the miniſters.—Follow me upon this new ſcene.

I ſpeak not to you of Danton. Danton was the creature of thoſe factious men; He could not but ſacrifice every thing to them.

But I will ſpeak to you of Roland—not that Roland was ſubdued by the anarchiſts; he made head againſt them, even at the moment when with ſovereign power they diſpoſed of poignards; but his diſmiſſion, but the ſilence of the Convention, who ought to have paid a ſolemn homage to his courage, to his immenſe labours, and to his irreproachable probity; but the abandonment of all nature, which ought to have been ſo ſenſible towards that virtuous man; but the perſecutions, and humiliations, with which they ſtill drench him; but thoſe inſulting ſeals put with ſuch brutality on his goods, by a ſtupid deputy; but that perfidious citation before that bloody tribunal, "before which, "many of the jurymen boaſted ſoon to bring down his head;" but that impunity of the falſe witneſſes who denounced him, and calumniators who accuſed him; but the impoſſibility that he lies under (after four months, and after ten letters,) of obtaining any report upon his accounts, in which to the laſt penny every thing is rigorouſly juſtified; but the impoſſibility of obtaining even the right ſo natural of going to breathe the country air; but in a word, that ſecret ſhivering which made almoſt every individual dread the ſuſpicion of being his friend, or even ſimply his relation.* Do not all theſe facts bear witneſs to the exceſſive power

* *Tranſlator.*] This man made his eſcape. His wife was murdered by the revolutionary tribunal. Soon after he laid violent hands upon himſelf. Thus periſhed one of the principal actors in the revolutionary rebellion.

of his enemies, and the deſpotic empire that they exerciſed over the Convention!—Over the Convention, forced to ſacrifice virtue itſelf, and every day to hear the repetition of invectives againſt that venerable old man! . . . . . .†

His enemies never ceaſe to tell us, that the departments are Rolandized; that they are infected with the moderantiſm which he preached; that the opinion of the public muſt be changed—muſt be directed.

Direct the opinion of the public! Senſeleſs people! You know not then what the public opinion is, how it is formed! You know not then that it is the reſult of the public conſcience, that no power, an enemy to morality and to juſtice, can for any length of time give it its direction. That it governs itſelf but by the eternal notions of juſt and unjuſt; but by the compariſon of facts, of opinions, of diſcuſſions, of facts that the cabinet is ſilent upon; that it governs itſelf upon the ſentiment of enlightened men. You know then, that if public opinion can be for a moment abuſed, and go aſtray, its error endures not long; becauſe the error is ſoon reſiſted; becauſe public opinion in a free government knows no paſſion, that is able for any length of time to keep up an error.

Public opinion admired the Jacobins of Paris in 1792, becauſe ſhe ſaw in them only the enemies of deſpotiſm, of ariſtocracy, and of feuillantiſm. The opinion of the public abandoned them, from about the end of 1792 and in 1793; becauſe ſhe ſaw in them nothing but the blind inſtruments of faction, which aimed to govern France, to level property, and of courſe to overturn the republican form of government. It is thus we explain the inexplicable dearth of the Jacobin journals from that date, and the abandonment of their cauſe by all patriot journaliſts, who had ſo vigorouſly defended them till then.*

A miniſter direct public opinion! But have they ſquandered more money than Montmorin and Deleſſart, to royalize and feuillantize France? What millions have been laviſhed, and upon writers who were not without addreſs!

Well! has the public opinion been perverted? No! Feuillantiſm has had its faction; but the public opinion has continued ſound: and the univerſal congratulations upon the victory of the 10th of Auguſt have proved it. And Roland would have done more in three months than other miniſters would have done in three years. Roland would with thirty thouſand livres have done what Montmorin and Deleſſart would not have done with millions. If theſe principles had obtained ſo many partiſans,

† *Tranſlator.*] The ſentence following in the original is ſo obſcure, that I have not attempted to tranſlate it. The author himſelf, by breaking it ſhort, choſe, perhaps, rather to hint his meaning than to bring it out fully. He certainly did not mean to ſay, that the Convention really did believe the charges againſt his friend Roland.—The paſſage runs thus:—"La Convention qu'on "pourroit accuſer de croire intérieurement à un de ces griefs qu'on a tant rebat-"tu contre Roland, grief qui n'eſt pas diſſipé, qu'il faut detruire enfin." There is little loſt by its omiſſion.

* *Tranſlator.*] They have, however, triumphed.

partiſans, if they had obtained the ſuffrage of almoſt all France, they would have been indebted for it to Truth alone, and not to money, and not to ſuppoſed hired journals. For he preached up hatred to thoſe who had committed the maſſacres, and all France execrated thoſe who had been guilty of them. He preached up reſpect to the law, and all France knows that without that reſpect no Republic can exiſt. Roland preached truth with energy and conſtancy. That was his ſecret, that was his ſyſtem of corruption, which he employed with the journaliſts, not one of whom was hired by him. For the Patriot Journaliſts had too much pride to receive money, and Roland had too much virtue to pay any.

Roland is no more!* The journals have not changed their principles. Who then continues their pay? All the treaſures are at the diſpoſal of the men they attack.

Certainly one might find among the anarchiſts, ſome, who, whether they touch foreign funds, whether they enriched themſelves by pillage, or by other culpable means, have ſquandered money to make proſelytes to anarchy, and to pervert the public opinion†. Have they ſucceeded? No! In ſpite of all the efforts of that hundred commiſſioners from the Mountain diſperſed through the departments, in ſpite of the circulated notes public and

* *Tranſlator.*] Roland, he meant to ſay, had abſconded; for he had not then, nor till long after, killed himſelf.

† On a view of the immenſe ſums expended by the anarchiſts, it is often aſked, where is the ſource of their wealth? Our aſtoniſhment ought to ceaſe, in my opinion, when we recollect the dilapidations of the comité de ſurveillance, the lucrative bargains which were made by Pache, the mayor of Paris, in favour of his friends; the deficit of his accounts; the millions given to the municipality of Paris, no application of which appears; and the ſecret funds granted to the executive council.

What! will any one venture to affirm, that the inconceivable robbery of the crown jewels has not its ſhare in feeding this perennial ſpring of corruption? I obſerve, that *Thuriot* had rawnn into his hands the management of that buſineſs: that he purſued it with a ſingular earneſtneſs; that he afterwards configned it to oblivion; that Fabre d'Eglantine revived it in three months after, and without any apparent motive; that he revived it at a time when the facts were forgotten; when Roland appeared to be abandoned; when thoſe whom he protected were ruined by ſupporting him; when the faction preſſed *Reſtout* to make a depoſition againſt him, at a time when they preſſed *Beauvoir, Kolly and his wife*, who were *their priſoners*, to make a depoſition againſt *this ſame Roland*; when they employed careſſes, promiſes, menaces, to obtain this depoſition, which, joined to that of the falſe witneſs *Gauthier*, might have put Roland's head in danger! I obſerve, that this inſinuation of *Fabre* was made the day before the ſetting fire to the *Hall of Juſtice.* A fire which their emiſſaries raiſed a cry upon againſt the Rolandins, as having been the cauſe of it, in order to make away with the teſtimonies that were on record in the inquiry into the robbery.

It is the conſtant manœuvre of the anarchiſts to accuſe their adverſaries of having laid ſchemes for ſedition, maſſacre, and robbery:—Return them their loan, and you never will be guilty of calumny againſt them.

Tranſlator.] With all the author's earneſtneſs to clear his friend Roland of this foul robbery and breach of truſt, his friend is by no means acquitted in public opinion.—Nor does his own character eſcape from cenſure: as far as can be judged from pamphlets, (which are however certainly not to be admitted as proofs,) the public voice ſeems to ſuppoſe, that Briſſot ſhared the guilt of Roland in this foul tranſaction.

and private, in ſpite of the journals and placards, the public opinion remained attached to order, becauſe public opinion is incorruptible; becauſe ſhe conſiders not the Mountain, and that ſhe neither does nor can ſee any thing but the truth under a free government.

I return to the miniſters, who, ſince I muſt be plain, "have been, and are rather the miniſters of the Jacobins of Paris than thoſe of the nation," and I put Garat at the head of theſe enſlaved miniſters. Garat, whoſe pacific character, and whoſe opinions, laid down in his journal (during the conſtituent aſſembly) made the friends of order hope, that under his adminiſtration, the law would at laſt be reſpected. What has he done? Scarce was he inſtalled, when he openly ſhewed his complaiſance for the anarchiſts in a perplexed memoir upon the maſſacres of the 2d of September; a memoir in which he falſely paints thoſe maſſacres as the conſequence of the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt;* in which he abſolves, he even honours the criminal authors.

A decree expels the Bourbons; and Garat, when the law itſelf forbad him to give an opinion, pays his court to the factious partiſans of Orleans, by a turn of phraſe which diſcovered his oppoſition to that decree.

The law ordered him to proſecute the incendiary writers, and he was ſilent.

The law orders him to proſecute thoſe who had perpetrated the maſſacres of the 2d of September, and a culpable faintheartedneſs characteriſes that proſecution. Yet he was not ignorant, he, a member of the council, was not ignorant, that if there was any thing that could reconcile foreign nations to us, it was the rigorous proſecution of thoſe maſſacres. I know he will cite to me certain letters written to the public accuſer, and ſome depoſitions that were collected. But it is by no means, by ſuch apiſh tricks, that a debt ſacred to humanity and the revolution is to be acquitted.

I know, too, that he will quote to me his fear of expoſing virtuous men, even Petion, in that proceſs. Falſe and perfidious managements! Petion could not be expoſed but by that wickedneſe, which would make the inactivity it had condemned him to, a crime in him. Petion would have got out of that abſurd accuſation in triumph. Petion and his friends proudly rejected all managements on that head. Let us ſpeak out—Garat's real object was to wreſt from that proſecution, other men who ſtood charged in the proceedings, Robeſpierre, Danton, and Marat. Accordingly we muſt attribute the ſuſpenſion of that procedure to their influence.

What

* *Tranſlator.*] No impartial man can with Monſ. Briſſot deny, that all the ſubſequent maſſacres were the conſequence of the firſt maſſacre of the 10th of Auguſt, which was planned and executed by Briſſot and his friends; nor will any man, but the authors of ſuch acts, affect to make diſtinctions between the ſame crime perpetrated at different times.

What did Garat do beſides to find out the authors of the pillage on the 26th of February, and to bring them to puniſhment? Where are the proſecutions which he has ordered? Has he even ever given in his account of them, although many decrees have ordered him to do ſo?

The conſpiracy of the 10th of March breaks out. What did he do to prevent it? He, who if he could not preciſely fix the place for the ſitting of the committee of inſurrection, knew at leaſt by a multitude of reports and proofs, that a formidable conſpiracy was on foot againſt the lives of many deputies, againſt the liberty and ſafety of the whole Convention! and when that conſpiracy had been diſcovered, what miſerable ſophiſms did he not employ, to perſuade the Convention, and all France, that it was nothing but a chimera; that the committee of inſurrection was a fable; when at the ſame time the journals of the Jacobins announced to all the world, that the plot was actually on foot in the very heart of their ſociety: at the very time that even the guilty avowed themſelves. No! never was a conſpiracy more evidently proved; never had any conſpiracy a more frightful object in view; and yet the miniſter of juſtice treated it with an indifference which became the real guilt of an accomplice.*

Garat endeavoured to palliate his inertneſs by his pacific intentions, by his deſign of bringing the parties together, and by that means preſerving the public weal.

I am willing to believe, that he was guided only by that motive. I am willing even to pardon Garat the outrage he did to good men, whoſe irreproachable character he is obliged to eſteem, in putting them upon the footing of weak men whom he deſpiſes, and of profligates whom he deteſts. But when he ſaw the impoſſibility of being able to eſtabliſh a durable peace between virtue and crime; when he ſaw that the anarchiſts perpetually ſported with their promiſes, and their ſchemes of reconciliation, which were never followed by any thing but abortive conſpiracies; when he ſaw that the true republicans labour only for two points, proviſionary order and conſtitution; when he ſaw that the anarchiſts would admit neither order nor conſtitution, and though the ſafety of the republic depended on both: Could he have balanced between the two parties? Ought he not then to have exerted his adminiſtration in all its rigour? And if he had not the courage to do this; if the ſwords which they ſometimes threatened him with, terrified his fluctuating imagination, ought he not to have renounced his place, and have abandoned it to ſome citizen who might have had firmneſs enough to make head againſt the factious?

Inſtead of following that line which the public good preſcribed to him, Garat quitted the adminiſtration of juſtice; but it was to exchange it for another place, the load of which was heavier.

* *Tranſlator.*] This is the conſpiracy which afterwards produced the revolution of the 31ſt of laſt May.

vier. And what has he done in this new miniſtry, which they had already found too vaſt for Roland, and which nevertheleſs Garat alone had the direction of for ſix weeks, with the adminiſtration of juſtice; which, from its extent, they found too well adapted to favour the deſpotiſm of a ſingle man, and which nevertheleſs they no longer choſe to divide, when Roland was not the poſſeſſor of it? This thoroughly proves, that party principles lean more to perſons than things. What, I ſay, did Garat do? Always devoted to the will of the anarchiſts, he ſhut his eyes upon the crimes of the adminiſtrative body, which they influenced. For has he annulled any of the ſeditious delibrations of the commune of Paris, and of its turbulent ſections? No, he bent the knee before them, to obtain a certificate of civiſm. Did he denounce that department which rung the alarm bell upon the queſtion of ſubſiſtence? Did he denounce that formation of the army which the anarchiſts had commanded in the department of Bouches du Rhone, and which at preſent may ſerve to ſuppreſs their projects? Did he proſecute the dilapidators of the month of September, who never intended to give in their accounts; all the proofs of which were ſent him by the commune of Paris on the 18th of February? Did he annul, or denounce that judgment of the department of the Indre and the Loire, which violated the liberty of the preſs, in permitting them to ſtop the circulation of this or that journal? &c. Garat carried into the interior adminiſtration the ſame weakneſs, the ſame inertneſs, the ſame art of the ſophiſt to juſtify exceſs, and to diſpenſe with the puniſhment of criminals. To what then muſt this conduct be attributed? To a want of ſpirit; that is to ſay, to a want of that vigorous determination of a man reſolved to die rather than to deviate from his principles; to that fear, which always offers incenſe to reigning power. He who dares not brave tyrants, he who has careſſed the feuillants, muſt flatter the anarchiſts.

What does it coſt to a man of ſenſibility to judge ſo harſhly of one of his fellow citizens, with whom that ſweet fraternity which exiſts amongſt men of letters, that kind of new ſenſe, that new language, which is well underſtood by philoſophers only, ought to unite him?

How hard it is to be under the neceſſity of tearing a miniſter to pieces, who, as a private man, as a writer, merits eſteem! To ſpeak ill, may be an enjoyment to a calumniator by profeſſion; it is a puniſhment to good men who would wiſh to be employed in praiſes only, who would wiſh to ſee all men happy and virtuous. But this ſeverity becomes a duty. To be ſilent would be treaſon. It is thus, I know (I have but too much experience of it) that a man brings burning coals on his own head. But what is true republicaniſm, if it is not a perpetual ſacrifice of our own intereſt, and our own taſte, to the public weal?

And ſuch is ſtill the painful ſentiment, which afflicts me in running over the adminiſtration of Pache and Monge.

The purity of the principles which they profeſſed raiſed them to be miniſters; and fear ſoon made them the ſlaves of the anarchiſts. Frightened at the power of the Jacobins, at their eagerneſs to denounce all miniſters, and the facility with which the

 publi-

public and the Convention received them, they ſoon arranged themſelves on the ſide of thoſe, who, almoſt always with ſucceſs, wielded the poignards of calumny.

That lazy abandoning of principle wanted juſtification. They have ſaid, they have repeated it, that it was *the cauſe of the people*; that *the people* muſt be ſupported. Thus they diſhonoured the fair name of the people, to inveſt with it an handful of ignorant or wicked men, who roared out in the roſtrums, or among the mobs. The atrocities, the threats of aſſaſſination, the cries of cannibals, were the ordinary enjoyment of *this people*. They have juſtified them; they have gone the length of regretting with the *Pruſſian Cloots, that they had not ſufficiently ſeptemberiſed: they have had the baſeneſs, as I may ſay, to deify Marat; and to glory in following his party.*

Such is the exceſs of madneſs or hypocriſy to which the people have been carried by fear. *They are become cannibals through fear.* It is in this ſketch you are to recognize Pache. No, I can never conſole myſelf for having for ſome time given ſome ſhare of my eſteem to that man; for having ſo long kept back thoſe attacks which would have deſtroyed him in public opinion and in the Convention, from ſome of my friends who had better penetrated his real ſentiments than I had. I ſhall never conſole myſelf for the ſhare I had in the elevation of that man, who is the greateſt cheat of all the anarchiſts, if he is not the greateſt fool or the greateſt coward amongſt them; of this man, whoſe reputation was made by Roland; of this man, who, as the reward of that ſervice, would have given up the head of his benefactor to his bloody enemies; of this man, who, through complaiſance to the factious, diſorganiſed all our armies; and who for them, diſparaged, and outraged the Convention, in protecting the ſeditious decrees of the ſections againſt it.

Ever attentive to the orders of the demagogues, who governed the multitude, Pache received their orders with ſubmiſſion. His officers were filled by thoſe only whom they protected: the places in the army, and the interior, were only poſſeſſed by thoſe who call themſelves Sans Culottes. The murderers of September had every where the preference; all the bargains were for their advantage: thence proceeded that enormous dilapidation of all the departments of the war. Pache diſtributed the funds to the creatures of thoſe who commanded the roſtrum; and they had the ſecret of conſtantly abſolving Pache to the Convention. Four or five hundred millions were laid out under that voracious miniſter. Where are the accounts, which the Convention had ordered to be given in every fifteen days? Thoſe accounts which the miniſter was bound to give in upon quitting his adminiſtration? "Bour-
" nonville, on entering upon his adminiſtration, and after hav-
" ing examined the ſtate of the expences, has declared that there
" was a ſum of 160 millions, [about ſix millions ſterling] of the
" expenditure, of which there appeared no particulars. Cambon
" ſaid to the committee in the roſtrum, that it was impoſſible to
" bring the expenditure of that department to light; that a
" ſponge muſt be drawn over if. (I copy his very words;) and

Cambon,

Cambon, who has ſhewn ſo much rancour to get a decree againſt thoſe miſerable little pilferings, and to proſecute thoſe obſcure contractors, Cambon has ſhut his eyes upon the frightful expenditures of Pache. He has kept, in regard to him, a profound ſilence, while, in concert with the party under whoſe banners he continues to ſerve, he never ceaſed to declaim againſt Roland, who has given in his account clear to the laſt farthing; and while the irreproachable Roland is treated almoſt as a criminal, Pache has not accounted for an hundred millions which he has touched; Pache holds the firſt place at Paris, and they give new millions to his diſpoſal? What is then this confuſion of all ideas? What is this ſecret magic which covers the guilty by puniſhing the innocent?—It is the protection of the anarchiſts.

Yes, if Roland had committed the thouſandth part of all that, with which Pache is to be reproached, Roland would be no more: and Pache ſleeps in tranquillity. He ſleeps, after having palſied and diſorganiſed our forces, and occaſioned our external diſaſters! Do I ſay, he ſleeps? He wakes; but it is that he may preſide over a municipality, where they give in their accounts by threatening to ſhed blood.

Run over the accounts that have been preſented to you by the commiſſaries of different armies; you will every where ſee through the whole adminiſtration of Pache, that is to ſay, the miniſtry of the anarchiſts, that he has been the principal cauſe of all our calamities. You will ſee every where, at the Pyrenees, at the Alps, on the Rhine, upon the Moſelle, in Belgium, a perfect concert of complaints upon the dearth of cloaths, of arms, of ammunition, of proviſions; although the Convention had decreed immenſe ſums for all theſe articles; although the ridiculous Haſſenfrats, who, with his five millions of plebeian generals, is fit company for the madman who talked of 1200 departments, diſplayed to all comers ſuperb ſtatements in which our armies were ſwimming in abundance.

" You will ſee the proviſions every where paid for two or three " times over, warehouſes hired at an exceſſive price, battalions, " though reduced to a third or a ſixth, ſtill paid for at their full " compliment." And why? Becauſe the undertakers for the markets and the warehouſes, the commiſſaries for the war, and the clerks in all the offices, were all the creatures of the anarchiſts; all profited from the diſorder; all enriched themſelves under the cover of their maſquerade of rough ſtern virtue, and their continually Theeing and Thouing each other.

Such, too, is the taliſman which governs the offices of the marine. It is there, more than even any where elſe, that they have condemned themſelves to a complete inactivity; and the hiſtory and the cauſes of that inactivity deſerved to be examined to the bottom.

From the month of October, the poſſibility of a war with the maritime powers was foreſeen. The diplomatic committee, and that of the general defence, had forewarned Monge; they had put conſiderable ſums into his diſpoſal; he had promiſed to keep himſelf well provided on all the coaſts; to have the ſhips and frigates all repaired; he had promiſed a fleet of thirty ſhips of the

line for the month of April; he had promiſed above 50 ſhips of the line to be ready to put to ſea for the month of July; he had promiſed to cover the ſea with frigates, and to protect our commerce; he had promiſed to ſend ſuccour to St. Domingo, and to Martinique: an expreſs law of the month of October had ordered him to do all this. Behold what he has done! In the month of March all our privateers are deſtroyed by the Engliſh in the channel; and the miniſter at that periodconfeſſed to the committee that he had not a ſingle advice-boat to protect them. And yet this very miniſter, who had not a ſingle advice-boat at his diſpoſal in the month of March, had in an imprudent and culpable circular letter, publiſhed in the beginning of the month of January, of which Pitt well knew how to take his advantage to ſtir up the people of England againſt us, this miniſter had, I ſay, threatened England to throw fifty thouſand liberty caps into her very boſom. In the month of April our trading veſſels were taken by Engliſh frigates at the very mouths of our rivers; our ſhips could not go into the Mediterranean without danger; and yet we had a fleet there of 15 ſhips of the line.

What is become then of that fleet which threatened Sardinia and all the Levant? How came it that Monge has not even yet accuſed the authors of that inaction to which that fleet was condemned for ſome months? How comes it that he has not brought this conſpiracy to light, by which the arms of France were diſhonoured at Cagliari.

How will he juſtify himſelf for not having ſent any competent ſuccour to the Eaſt Indies? For not having forewarned our colonies at the period of December, when the war with England was apparent? How will he juſtify himſelf for having deferred his ſending a fleet to Martinico, when a decree had ordered him to do ſo? How will he juſtify himſelf for having in the month of March ordered the frigates diſpatched for Martinique to cruize in the channel at the ſeaſon of the equinox, which occaſioned on one hand the failure of that expedition; which, on the other hand, expoſed that fleet to periſh, and actually did force it to return to port? And during all theſe delays, England, " who did not begin to arm " till three months after us, ſent Admiral Gardiner with ſeven ſhips of the line and a number of frigates to the Weſt Indies, and that fleet made itſelf maſter of the richeſt ſhips of our colonies. Is there then nothing here worſe than folly or than negligence? Has not the perfidy of ſome diſguiſed counter-revoluntioniſts in the direction of the marine offices, viſibly rendered our maritime forces incapable of activity, and deceived the ſpirit of thoſe Republicans who flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing revived thoſe times of the Engliſh republic, where the celebrated Blake rendered their flag reſpected, made kings tremble on their thrones, beat the Dutch fleets, ruined their commerce, and kept the colonies in their Duty?

This is what an active, enlightened, enterpriſing miniſter of the marine would have done; one who would have troubled himſelf with no other anſwers to the Jacobins, than grand enterpriſes and briliant victories.

But to what then muſt this incredible inertneſs in the department of the marine be attributed? Is it owing to the incapacity

of Monge alone, an incapacity that he has himſelf twenty times confeſſed, and which became a crime when he obſtinately perſevered to continue miniſter at a criſis ſo perilous.

It is to be attributed to theſe leaders of the Jacobins, who directed Monge by means of their creatures placed under him in his office; it is to be attributed to thoſe leaders who, for a long time had declared that they would have nothing to do with an offenſive war, which they oppoſed every where in order to force us to renounce it; to thoſe leaders who, knowingly or ignorantly were the inſtruments of foreign powers, who were intereſted to make our forces incapable of activity, and whoſe agents, whether by bribing, or by flatteting their vanity, led thoſe leaders to that ſyſtem; to thoſe leaders who, ſpeculating for themſelves, or for their creatures upon the jobs in the marine, filled them with negligence or with roguery; to thoſe leaders who dictated their own choice, commanded them to drive away all well informed men, who infeſted the offices, the ports, the arſenals, with the men whom they protected, whoſe ignorance ſhackled the progreſs of the navy, or whoſe wickedneſs obſtructed it intentionally.

We muſt farther attribute this inertneſs of the marine to thoſe white people of the colonies, ariſtocrats or independents, who, coaleſcing with the chiefs of the Jacobins, had uſurped a great influence in the marine offices, and at their own pleaſure retarded the operations with regard to the colonies, or made them ſtand totally ſtill, in order to favour their independence, or their invaſion by foreigners.

We muſt finally attribute it to Perigni, who in every thing directed Monge; whom Monge was ſtubbornly reſolved to preſerve as his intimate, although the committee of general defence had denounced that man to him as an ariſtocrat in diſguiſe, under the form of Sans Culoterie, as an ex-noble, the ſon of a coloniſt, intereſted in the independence of the colonies.

Theſe are the cauſes of the inertneſs of the miniſter of the marine; an inertneſs which has ruined our privateers, ruined our commerce, ruined and humiliated France in all the ſeas; an inertneſs which muſt in the end deprive us of all proviſions, and of all the primary articles which foreigners furniſh.

You who, to keep your places, or through dread of denunciations againſt you, careſs the factious, whoſe nullity you deſpiſe in your hearts, whoſe crimes you are acquainted with; *you, whoſe names I do not ſet down, but who are nevertheleſs the ſlaves of thoſe proſligates; I hold your ſecret in my hands;* you ſhall not eſcape from inflexible poſterity, even though you ſhould not yourſelves ſtand the witneſſes of your own ignominy *.

Republicans! It is not the habit, but the ſoul which makes the republican; It is the inflexible man, who purſues crime even in the moment of its triumph, in the very midſt of its poignards; who tramples its favours under his feet. Cato pierced his boſom rather than receive a favour from an uſurper, who would have felt himſelf honoured by being his friend. Cato was as much

* *Tranſlator.*] This paragraph may be among the Cauſes which ſhortened the trial of the author before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

much ſuperior to the Lilliputian creatures of theſe times, as genius can be to ſtupidity.—This is the republican!

I am ſatisfied that I have fully proved that the anarchiſts under the name of the Jacobins of Paris, of the municipality and of the ſections, have governed, and do govern the Convention, the executive power, and all the adminiſtrations, and conſequently that they govern the whole empire.

It remains for me to prove, that the ſyſtem of the anarchiſts is the principal cauſe of all the evils that we ſuffer, whether internal or external. What in truth, are the calamities which afflict us internally?

The multiplicity of crimes. That multiplicity is produced by impunity; the impunity by the inactivity of the tribunals; the anarchiſts protect this impunity; they ſtrike all the tribunals with a palſy, either by the fear they excite, or by denunciations and accuſations of ariſtocracy.

"The repeated acts of violence from every quarter againſt property and perſonal ſafety."

The anarchiſts of Paris give every day the example; and their immediate emiſſaries, and their emiſſaries decorated with the title of commiſſaries of the Convention, every where preach up this violation of the rights of man. What do I ſay? They practiſe that violation every where. For what town has not been witneſs to theſe outrages? What town has not been witneſs of theſe violations? What town has not been in mourning on account of them? What town has not ſeen its beſt citizens thrown into irons? In what town have not theſe anarchiſts formed committees of ſuperintendence, and revolutionary committees, who, under pretext of ſtriking at ariſtocrats, ſtrike at good patriots, becauſe they are zealous for order, and for the reſpect due to property.

The dearneſs of bread—it is produced by the ſcarcity of the markets, and the want of the circulation of grain. What is it produces this ſolitude in the markets? What ſtops this circulation? The eternal declamations of the anarchiſts againſt men of property, or againſt merchants, whom they mark out by the name of *monopolizer*; the eternal petitions of ignorant men who call for a rate upon grain. The labouring man fears he ſhall be plundered, or have his throat cut, and leaves his ricks untouched.

The deficit of the public contributions.—Many individuals pay nothing, becauſe the law has no force; and the law has no force, becauſe the anarchiſts take away all force from it; many diſtricts of departments pay nothing; becauſe the example of Paris, and of Bouches du-Rhone is ſeducing; becauſe they fear nothing; neither the miniſters, nor the council, who dare not break the adminiſtrators; nor the Convention, which is obliged to ſhut its eyes upon theſe acts of federaliſm; becauſe, in ſhort, the aſſignments given for this or that occaſion, annihilate the return of the revenue to the center of the contributions.

The diſcredit of aſſignats—They are diſcredited becauſe they are too numerous; and they are too numerous, on one hand, becauſe the expenditure is exceſſive and uncontrouled; on the other hand, becauſe the ſale of the national goods is ſtopped, and

and that the ſale of the goods of the emigrants is nothing; The influence of the anarchy cauſes this double effect. It is ſubſtantially the anarchiſts who order, direct, and controul all the expenditures; and on the other ſide, acquiſitions are no longer made, when men of property are inceſſantly deſtined to the ſword of robbers, and when the deſpotiſms of anarchy cauſes an apprehenſion of the return of the antient deſpotiſm.

The failure of the adminiſtrations almoſt throughout.—The anarchiſts alone occaſion it, by crying out, and by making others who are their truſty friends in the clubs, cry out too, againſt all adminiſtrators, even in the popular ones. From the moment that a man is in any adminiſtration he becomes odious to the anarchiſts; he ſeems culpable; he is denounced. It is the way to curry favour by adulation to that multitude whoſe morals they have corrupted, and which delights in nothing but deſtruction.

The palſy of the adminiſtrations is alſo owing to thoſe acts of arbitrary authority exerciſed in almoſt all the departments by the commiſſaries of the anarchiſts, over the adminiſtrators, who will not participate in their reſpect for pillage and maſſacre. Theſe acts of deſpotiſm have remained unpuniſhed; and then forſooth they expect the adminiſtrators will put the laws in execution!

Conſider the department which have been able to chain down the fury of theſe ferocious men. Conſider for example the department of the Gironde. Order has prevailed. The people have always been ſubmiſſive to the law; although they paid as high as ten ſols a pound for their bread, numerous battalions well diſciplined have been ſent to the armies againſt the rebels. The public contributions have always been well paid. It is that in that department they have baniſhed the preachers of an Agrarian law; it is that in that department the citizens have bricked up the doors of that club, where they teach the ſanguinary doctrines which are every day preached by the Jacobins of Paris. In ſhort, it is, that there, the adminiſtrators, men of integrity, of underſtanding, and of courage, have braved both the poignards of calumny, and the menaces of the commiſſaries, who are at the orders of the Jacobins *,

The troubles of l'Eure, de l'Orne, &c.—Theſe have been occaſioned by the preachings againſt the rich, againſt monopoliſers, by the ſeditious ſermons upon the neceſſity of ſetting a rate on grain, and all proviſions, by force of arms.

Troubles of Orleans.—This town has from the beginning of the revolution lived in the enjoyment of a tranquility which has not been affected by the troubles excited by the ſcarcity of corn in other places, although this was a corn country; becauſe the people were made to underſtand the ſubject; becauſe the workmen in the manufactories, the moſt numerous claſs of people in that town, found a certain ſubſiſtence; becauſe the ſacrifices from men at their eaſe were conſiderable. This harmony between the poor and the rich was not among the principles of anarchy: and one of thoſe men, employed to diſſeminate thoſe principles;

* *Tranſlator.*] The reader will obſerve, that for this rebellion againſt the Jacobins, the people of Bourdeaux have been moſt ſeverely puniſhed, and this rich commercial city put under the guardianſhip of the Sans Culottes.

principles; one of thoſe men, in whom order creates deſpair, whoſe only object is trouble, beſtirred himſelf to break that happy concord, and laboured to excite the Sans Culottes againſt men of property. An accidental wrangle brought a few blows upon him, and there is that grand conſpiracy which has occaſioned a perfectly innocent town * to be declared in a ſtate of rebellion. 'The commiſſaries, ſay they, muſt be ſurrounded with reſpect. Eh! that they could firſt ſurround them with virtues; and that oppreſſed town ſtill groans under a more tyrannic yoke than that of Algiers or of Conſtantinople! That town has experienced refinements of cruelty ſuch as Tiberius would not have permitted himſelf to be guilty of.

The troubles of La Vendee—They are owing to the ariſtocracy; but nothing has been of more ſervice to them, than the diſorders and the ſyſtem of anarchy. For what has more contributed to excite the fanaticiſm of the country people towards their prieſts, and their worſhip, "than the cruelties conſtantly "ordained by the anarchiſts againſt the refractory prieſts?" † What has more contributed to render the republican form of government ſhocking to all men of property, and all men who live by their induſtry, and who want repoſe, than the preachings againſt property and peace? Who has nominated that ſtupid miniſter of war, the commiſſaries employed to repreſs thoſe troubles, and thoſe generals who are incapable of concerting a good plan for hemming in the rebels? Was it not the anarchiſts? Are not they the men who have palſied the executive council: who have placed it under the guardianſhip of the committee of public ſafety, which they have made up at their own pleaſure; of that committee, which allowed itſelf to be impoſed upon by idle tales, and which never adopted efficacious meaſures? In ſhort, who commanded that *ſanguinary law* by which every rebel, taken in arms, is on the inſtant condemned to death? a law, which ſtrikes the peaſant who has gone aſtray, and who was forced, indeed, by his former lord to make himſelf the aſſociate of his crimes; a law, the effect of which ſoon turned upon our own troops, ſince the rebels have not failed to make repriſals; a law, the re-action of which has been ſtill more fatal to our recruiting; as it would have been more wiſe, more political, to have condemned none but the chiefs to death! In making the law general, they favoured the counter-revolution; to have made it particular, by affecting the chiefs only, they would have divided thoſe chiefs from the good people, whom they had led aſtray. How eaſy too might it have been, to have brought back or to have reduced thoſe people, under an active and ſpirited miniſtry, under a wiſe and reſpected Convention, with order every where eſtabliſhed.

The

* The wives, the children of the unhappy priſoners reſorted to the houſes of the deputies; who amuſed themſelves with their miſery; they obliged theſe people to drink, to dance.

You ſhall find nothing like this in the hiſtory of Tiberius.

Shall I cite the crimes of the commiſſaries of Lyons, Rovere, Bazire, and Legendre; their inſolent pride, the impudence of their anſwers, their numerous *Baſtilements* ordered by them in the midſt of debauches.

† *Tranſlator.*]* They could not exceed the cruelty of Briſſot's own faction with regard to the ſame objects.

The treaſon of Dumourier and the other General officers.—I was ſenſible of the ambition, of the immorality of Dumourier, and of his total indifference to the cauſe of liberty. He never was ſincerely inclined to a republic; he wiſhed for a monarchy, tempered by democratic forms, becauſe that ſort of government is more ſuitable to men of great talents, joined with ſtrong paſſions. *It is obſerved, that even in the caſe of virtue itſelf joined with great talents, uniform virtue does not fix the people, but the man of the pureſt intentions, who has beſt ſerved his country, is under the republican form expoſed to ſwallow the hemlock draught.* What ought they to hope, then, ſay they to themſelves, who have talents only, and are void of virtue? But I will not be afraid to ſay it, the calumnies which followed Dumourier, even in his triumphs, the ſpirit of diſorganization with which the anarchiſts had infected his army, were the cauſe that precipitated his treaſon, and conſequently precipitated our misfortunes.

If the Convention do not ſoon paſs a law to put a ſtop to this corroſive ſyſtem of calumny, which faſtens itſelf on every thing which is great and virtuous; ſhe will ſoon find neither generals of experience at the head of her armies, nor men of underſtanding in the guidance of her adminiſtrations. There is no ſurer way, not only of condemning honeſt men to ſolitude, but of even multiplying deſerters and traitors, than theſe eternal denunciations of imaginary treaſons, invented at pleaſure. How can it be imagined, that generals who have filled their functions with fidelity, who every day expoſe their lives in battle, ſhould not feel indignation at ſeeing themſelves marked out by the moſt worthleſs wretches as villains; in ſeeing all their actions, every diſcourſe of theirs, all their plans, miſrepreſented by calumny, and their victories themſelves denounced as treaſons? At ſeeing theſe calumnies greedily gathered up by the multitude, heard without indignation by the Convention, often followed even by ſuſpenſions, with orders to appear at the bar, and followed even by decrees? Muſt not the blood of a general boil in his veins in reading ſuch a decree, eſpecially when he recollects the coldneſs with which juſtifications are heard; with what cruelty they cavil upon certain miſerable pretended proofs; with what favour they receive as truths, ſometimes the dreams, ſometimes the treacherous report of a diſcontented ſoldier; in a word, at ſeeing the facility with which ſuſpected generals are transferred to the Abbaye? To the Abbaye!—The very name of which place, in recalling to memory that dreadful day of the 2d of September, muſt freeze the heart of the boldeſt and moſt virtuous man. Citizens! anarchy has already made Anitus's and Cleon's ſhoot up among us. But where is Socrates, where is Phocion? Are they not ſtifled at their birth? A republic ſtands on bad ground, where, at its very beginning, the chances of a man's ſucceſs, are all in favour of crime and againſt virtue.

I paſs now to our exterior calamities, and I ſhall prove them on the ſame evidence, that they are all owing to the anarchiſts.

I do not place the war with Auſtria in this claſs; here we had no choice, it was forced upon us, we were outraged and threatened. We were under a neceſſity of beginning that war, that we might enſure ſucceſs in it. That war promiſed the moſt happy ſucceſs; the fall of the houſe of Auſtria, the liberty of the Low Countries, ought to have been the infallible conſequence of it, if our leaders had poſſeſſed the prudence to avoid a maritime war.

But war with England, with Holland, and with Spain, has changed the face of affairs, and it has ſtopped the courſe of our victories. Then what has occaſioned this laſt war? There are three cauſes of it:

1ſt. The abſurd and impolitic decree of the 19th of November, which very juſtly excited uneaſineſs in foreign cabinets; a decree which men of knowledge oppoſed in vain; a decree brought to nothing by the anarchiſts themſelves, who had puſhed it on with rage: it was brought to nothing after a fatal experience; but this was done too late, ſince the miſchief had already been produced.

2d. The maſſacres of the ſecond of September, the impunity of which, commanded by the anarchiſts, has alienated from us all the neutral nations.

3d. The death of Louis.

I have already ſaid it, and I will never ceaſe to repeat it, ſince they do not ceaſe to attribute the war with England to me, though I employed all my endeavours to avoid it; thoſe maſſacres, and that condemnation to death, have moſt of all contributed to that war. Hear my proofs, which are not to be ſuſpected.

I was in England at the time, ſays Thomas Payne, in a work upon the point of being publiſhed, juſt at the time of the maſſacres on the 2d and 3d of September.

Before that unhappy event, the principles of the French revolution were making a rapid progreſs; ſcarcely was the fatal news of theſe maſſacres arrived, but a general change was apparent in the public opinion; all the friends of France were in mourning, every man feared to meet his friend: the enemies of the revolution triumphed, and made every place ring with anathemas and cries of horror againſt France, and theſe cries diſtracted every heart. Thus, all France, the whole revolution ſuffered by the profligacy of a few individuals. In vain was it ſaid that thoſe who periſhed were guilty perſons; the anſwer was, that a priſon was as ſacred as an altar, and that he who could violate a priſon, was capable of betraying his country.

Interrogate all the ſtrangers, interrogate our ambaſſadors at foreign courts, Chauvelin, Bourgoing; they will tell you what an unhappy ſenſation that death made upon the minds of all men, while it was utterly uſeleſs as to adding the leaſt ſtrength to the republic.

Fox ſaid to an Engliſhman, a friend to our principles and to our revolution: Let them be prevented from paſſing that ſentence of death, and I will be anſwerable to you that there will be no war, that the oppoſition will prevail, that the nation will be with it; the

the enemies of France in the cabinet of St. James's want only that death to bring about a declaration of war.

Read, in ſhort, the numerous writings, the Gazettes which have appeared ſince that time in England, in Germany, in Italy, in Switzerland. We are every where painted as cannibals; we are deteſted every where, and that hatred has been worth armies and treaſures to the kings coaleſced againſt us.

I have ſaid it in the roſtrum before the Convention, if you vote the death of the tyrant, without conſulting the nation, you muſt the next day vote a war againſt England, againſt Holland, againſt Spain, who will not only make war upon you, but who will find their advantage in the uſe they will make of the fanaticiſm of their people, which this death will occaſion.

They would not believe me; and the death of Louis was ſcarcely known in foreign nations but our ambaſſadors were affronted and ignominiouſly driven away. This outrage was either to be ſubmitted to or to be reſented. Our anſwer was a declaration of war.

Who, then, has been the author of this war? The anarchiſts only; and yet they make it a crime in us! It is anarchy which has brought all Europe on our backs; it is anarchy which has alienated every nation from us, which has been the cauſe of all the reverſes of fortune we have ſuffered; and the anarchiſts have the infamy to impute that reverſe of our fortunes to men who have laboured to put a ſtop to thoſe extravagancies, and to prevent thoſe misfortunes.

If, however, after having for no rational purpoſe brought all Europe upon our back, they had manifeſted that ſpirit which is becoming of twenty-five millions of republicans, inhabiting a country the moſt fertile in reſources; *if, inſtead of limiting themſelves to an ignominious defence, they had conceived, and executed ſome of thoſe great expeditions which brought all the kings of the Earth proſtrate before the Romans:*

What a noble career would then have opened itſelf before our eyes!

* At the Pyrenees, Spain offered to us only mountains that were eaſy to paſs over; . . . . . .

. . . . . .

At a diſtance, and beyond our ſeas, the Spaniſh eſtabliſhments are inhabited by a numerous people, who roar while they bite the curb, who wait only for a deliverer.

Louiſiana is a country to which we owe great reparation on account of the cowardice with which we there ſacrificed our brethren.

In the Weſt Indies, the Engliſh colonies which it was ſo eaſy to have turned topſy-turvy, ſimply in putting the finiſhing ſtroke, to the purification of the government of our own colonies; a meaſure which is not even underſtood by this council.

* *Tranſlator.*] The reader is acquainted with the licence of the Jacobin ſtyle, and the injurious and indecent manner in which they treat all other nations. Some of his ſcurrilities are ſuppreſſed.

In the Eaſt Indies it would, perhaps, be difficult to conquer the Dutch colonies; it would be perfectly eaſy to reſtore them to liberty.

In Indoſtan, a prince overcome in battle but not ſubdued; terrible, like Mithridates, even in his defeats, even in the ſeaſon of his repoſe; a prince whoſe implacable hatred againſt the Engliſh waits only a ſeaſon, when ſome aſſiſtance may enable him to attack the Engliſh power afreſh; and the thread by which the power of England has its hold in India is ſo ſlender.

In Europe, Ruſſia and Auſtria might have been humbled by the Port; Poland might have been preſerved by the Port; and your Mediterranean fleet, at that time ſplendid, could eaſily have perſuaded the Sultan; it could alone, if they had not been ſtupidly obſtinate in loſing it on the rocks of Sardinia, have changed the face of the war in Europe.

Ireland, whoſe movements towards liberty we were bound to encourage.

England is a country on which we might eaſily enough have retaliated the terrors which ſhe has at times excited among us, by imaginary projects of invaſion.

Throughout the whole commerce of our enemies, great advantages were offered to us for its deſtruction, without fear of a dangerous return of ſimilar evils upon our own commerce.

Such are the great ideas which ought to have been entertained, which ought to have been executed, *ſince the determination was made to brave all Europe*. Such were the projects that men, long familiar with the nature of republicaniſm, and the great effects of which it was capable, propoſed to the committee of general defence, propoſed by thoſe men whom they accuſe of having been the occaſion of declaring the war, and of not having carried it on in a grand ſtyle, when their oppoſers exerted themſelves for the deſtruction of all their means, or at leaſt for rendering them all impotent. Richelieu, Louvois, Alberoni, had conceived ſimilar projects; and they were men who could carry their projects into execution, only by a few thouſand ſatellites: here the whole nation is in action, to carry her plans into execution.

But where were theſe meaſures to be found? In our courage, in our love of liberty, in the reſources of our ſoil. Queſtioners, with narrow minds, read the hiſtory of the revolution of Holland, and of the long parliament in England: behold the prodigies which have characteriſed thoſe intereſting epochs.* Has England even been maſter of ſuch formidable fleets as thoſe which under Blake and Penn fought with Ruyter and Tromp? It was, however, three or four millions of men who bravely decided in favour of liberty. Here are twenty five millions in arms.

* *Tranſlator.*] M. Briſſot had but to look to the naval hiſtory of the laſt naval war, or to the one before it, to have found the Engliſh navy more formidable and more ſucceſsful than in the time when he ſuppoſes her to have been at her higheſt glory.

And

And theſe twenty-five millions found themſelves even in the month of January laſt, poſſeſſed of ſufficiently efficacious means, and with more money than all the foreign powers; even more than England, proud as ſhe is of her riches. The French have a maſs of reſources, ſuch as no nation in the world has ever poſſeſſed before; * a maſs which would doubtleſsly have doubled itſelf, could order but have been eſtabliſhed, for all was contained in our plan; but they even coaleſced themſelves with the anarchiſts, who ruined all our reſources by diſorder, in hopes of reigning by their aſſiſtance.

I had laid open theſe reſources in my two reports upon England. Kerſaint had alſo proved them before me, and an event has proved the fact better than *we did*. The Spaniards entered the country; the frontier was deſerted; the alarm bell was rung in the ſouth; and above forty thouſand men ſprung out of the earth in an inſtant, uniting themſelves together at Perpignan. Theſe are the miracles of liberty.

No, never did the Executive Council—What do I ſay? No, never did men who decreed the committee in order to cripple it, and who crippled it in order to govern in its ſtead—No, never did theſe creatures of mediocrity riſe to a conception of the ſtrength of the French nation, nor of the effects of liberty. It was with labour that they ſkimmed along the ground; they were not ſenſible that the defenſive excites no electricity: that the offenſive only could exalt a people who are impetuous, like the French; they ſaw not, that to form men into a great nation, vaſt ideas, great objects, ſublime and difficult deſigns, were indiſpenſable.

One only fear ſeemed to me conſtantly to poſſeſs the council, which was not under the guardianſhip of free republicans, of whom the committee of general defence had been at firſt compoſed, but who were fallen under the iron rod of their enemies. The council ſtood in dread of the denunciations, and of the calumnies of the Jacobins; they dreaded decrees of accuſation, if ſucceſs did not accompany their projects. This is the idea that froze the imagination, and crippled the mental faculties of every one of them. Here is the ſole cauſe of all our misfortunes, of all our humiliations. It is all owing to the murderous influence of the calumniating anarchiſts; they ſtifle all the plans which would have made us triumph over our enemies abroad, *and would have eſtabliſhed our liberty every where.* That influence has reduced us to ſhut ourſelves up within our proper limits, and we have ſtill to fear farther humiliations and defeats.

* *Tranſlator.*] No people but the preſent French tyranny could perhaps prevail on themſelves to boaſt of *public riches*, raiſed by the perfect annihilation of all private property. *Liberty and property* are terms never ſeparated in the public expreſſion of Engliſh happineſs. When men have once loſt the idea of private property, it is impoſſible that the idea of liberty can be preſerved to them.

Thus

Thus the Spaniards with whom we might have been beforehand on their own ground; (for from the month of November, the miniſter Pache had been charged to form a conſiderable army at the Pyrenees, and to provide it with every thing, which was not done even in the month of March.) Theſe Spaniards, I ſay, had the preſumption to ſtain the land of liberty, and attack us within our very walls; and in their frigates, protected through *that port paſſage* * where the tri-colour flag ought to fly; their frigates intercept our trade ſhips even in the view of our harbours.

Thus we could, we ought to make the Spaniards, the Engliſh, the Dutch, tremble for their colonies; and it is we who are to tremble for our own. And if theſe very ſame republicans, whom calumnies ceaſe not to accuſe, had not by a decree concerning the *men of colour*, acquired twenty thouſand native defenders of St. Domingo, where would that iſland have been, which was abandoned by the miniſter? Thus we could have ruined the commerce of our enemies by our numerous privateers, and theſe privateers of ours are deſtroyed in a few days, whereas the rich galleons of Spain enter quietly into their own ports.

Thus we might diſturb England by exciting fermentation in her boſom, in Ireland which is jealous, in Scotland which is diſcontented; inſtead of this, it is England which with ſucceſs excites and favours rebellion among ourſelves.

Thus it was in our power to ſtraiten the ſubſiſtence of our enemies by laying waſte their commerce, and exciting commotions among them through the ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions; whereas it is we who are threatened with this ſcarcity by the unſkilfulneſs of thoſe men, who, after having forced us to declare war, have inceſſantly ſhackled all the meaſures of the republicans, and who have, and who ſtill will have, the infamous cruelty to accuſe them to the people for that ſcarcity which they themſelves occaſioned.

In ſhort, *we, who ſhould no longer know any barrier except the Rhine*; we have been obliged to abandon the fields in which we were victorious, and thoſe brothers to whom we have given liberty.

That evacuation of Belgium which has tarniſhed the luſtre of our arms, and obliged the liberty of Europe to loſe ground, is ſtill the product of anarchy. This event which holds ſo great a place in our hiſtory deſerves to be fathomed.

Three ſorts of anarchy have ruined our affairs in Belgium.

The anarchy of the adminiſtration of Pache, which has completely diſorganized the ſupply of our armies; which by that diſorganization reduced the army of Dumourier to ſtop in the middle of its conqueſts; which ſtruck it motionleſs through the months of November and December; which hindered it

* *Tranſlator.*] I do not know whether the author means St. Sebaſtian's, or what other port.

from

from joining Bournonville and Cuſtine, and from forcing the Pruſſians and Auſtrians to repaſs the Rhine, and afterwards from putting themſelves in a condition to invade Holland ſooner than they did.

To this firſt ſtate of miniſterial anarchy, it is neceſſary to join that other anarchy which diſorganiſed the troops, and occaſioned their habits of pillage; and laſtly, that anarchy which created the revolutionary power, and forced the union to France of the countries we had invaded, before things were ripe for ſuch a meaſure.

Who could, however, doubt the frightful evils that were occaſioned in our armies by that doctrine of anarchy which under the ſhadow of equality of *right*, would eſtabliſh equality of fact? This is univerſal equality, the ſcourge of ſociety, as the other is the ſupport of ſociety. An anarchical doctrine which would level all things, talents, and ignorance, virtues and vices, places, uſages, and ſervices; a doctrine which begot that fatal project of organizing the army, preſented by Du Bois de Crance, to which it will be indebted for a compleat diſorganiſation.

Mark the date of the preſentation of the ſyſtem of this equality of fact, entire equality. It had been projected and decreed even at the very opening of the Dutch campaign. If any project could encourage the want of diſcipline in the ſoldiers, any ſcheme could diſguſt and baniſh good officers, and throw all things into confuſion at the moment when order alone could give victory, it is this project in truth ſo ſtubbornly defended by the anarchiſts, and tranſplanted into their ordinary tactic.

How could they expect that there ſhould exiſt any diſcipline, any ſubordination, when even in the camp they permit motions, cenſures, and denunciations of officers, and of generals? Does not ſuch a diſorder deſtroy all the reſpect that is due to ſuperiors, and all the mutual confidence without which ſucceſs cannot be hoped for? For the ſpirit of diſtruſt makes the ſoldier ſuſpicious, and intimidates the general. The firſt diſcerns treaſon in every danger; the ſecond, always placed between the neceſſity of conqueſt, and the image of the ſcaffold, dares not raiſe himſelf to bold conception, and thoſe heights of courage which electrify an army and enſure victory. Turenne, in our time, would have carried his head to the ſcaffold; for he was ſometimes beat: but the reaſon why he more frequently conquered was, that his diſcipline was ſevere: it was, that his ſoldiers confiding in his talents, never muttered diſcontent inſtead of fighting. Without reciprocal confidence between the ſoldier and the general, there can be no army, no victory, eſpecially in a free government.

Is it not to the ſame ſyſtem of anarchy, of equalization, and want of ſubordination, which has been recommended in ſome clubs, and defended even in the Convention, that we owe the pillages, the murders, the enormities of all kinds which it was difficult for the officers to put a ſtop to, from the general ſpirit of inſubordination; exceſſes which have rendered the French name

odious

odious to the Belgians? Again, is it not to this ſyſtem of anarchy, and of robbery, that we are indebted for the invention of the *revolutionary power*, which has ſo juſtly aggravated the hatred of the Belgians againſt France?

What did enlightened republicans think before the 10th of Auguſt, men who wiſhed for liberty, *not only for their own country, but for all Europe? They believed that they could generally eſtabliſh it, by exciting the governed againſt the governors, in letting the people ſee the facility and the advantages of ſuch inſurrections.*

But how can the people be led to that point? By the example of good government eſtabliſhed among us; by the example of order; by the care of ſpreading nothing but moral ideas among them; to reſpect their properties and their rights; to reſpect their prejudices, even when we combat them; by diſintereſtedneſs in defending the people, by a zeal to extend the ſpirit of liberty amongſt them.

This ſyſtem was at firſt followed.* Excellent pamphlets from the pen of Condorcet prepared the people for liberty; the 10th of Auguſt, the republican decrees, the battle of Valmy, the retreat of the Pruſſians, the victory of Jemappe, all ſpoke in favour of France; all was rapidly deſtroyed by *the revolutionary power*. Without doubt, good intentions made the majority of the aſſembly adopt it; they would plant the tree of liberty in a foreign ſoil, under the ſhade of a people already free. To the eyes of the people of Belgium it ſeemed but the maſk of a new foreign tyranny. This opinion was erroneous; I will ſuppoſe it ſo for a moment; but ſtill this opinion of Belgium deſerved to be conſidered. In general we have always conſidered our own opinions, and our own intentions, rather than the people whoſe cauſe we defend. We have given thoſe people a will; that is to ſay, we have more than ever alienated them from liberty.

How could the Belgic people believe themſelves free, ſince we exerciſe, for them, and over them, the rights of ſovereignty; when, without conſulting them, we ſuppreſs all in a maſs their ancient uſages, their abuſes, their prejudices, thoſe claſſes of ſociety which without doubt are contrary to the ſpirit of liberty, but the utility of whoſe deſtruction was not as yet proved to them? How could they believe themſelves free, and ſovereign, when we made them take ſuch an oath as we thought fit, as a teſt to give them the right of voting? How could they believe themſelves free, when openly deſpiſing their religious worſhip, which religious worſhip that ſuperſtitious people valued beyond their liberty, beyond even their life; when we proſcribed their prieſts; when we baniſhed them from their aſſemblies, where they were in the practice of ſeeing them govern; when we ſeized their revenues, their domains, and riches, to the profit of the nation; when we carried to the very cenſer thoſe hands which they regarded as profane? Doubtleſs theſe operations were founded on

* *Tranſlator.*] The moſt ſeditious libels upon all governments, in order to excite inſurrection in Spain, Holland, and other countries.

principles;

principles; but thoſe principles ought to have had the conſent of the Belgians, before they were carried into practice, otherwiſe they neceſſarily became our moſt cruel enemies.

Arrived ourſelves at the laſt bounds of liberty and equality, trampling under our feet all human ſuperſtitions, (after, however, a four years war with them,) we attempt all at once to raiſe to the ſame eminence, men, ſtrangers even to the firſt elementary principles of liberty, and plunged for fifteen hundred years in ignorance and ſuperſtition; we wiſhed to force men to ſee, when a thick cataract covered their eyes; even before we had removed that cataract, we would force men to ſee, whoſe dulneſs of character had raiſed a miſt before their eyes, and before that character was altered *.

Do you believe that the doctrine which now prevails in France would have found many partiſans among us in 1789? No; a revolution in ideas, and in prejudices, is not made with that rapidity; it moves gradually; it does not eſcalade.

Philoſophy does not inſpire by violence, nor by ſeduction, nor is it the ſword that begets the love of liberty.

Joſeph the Second alſo borrowed the language of philoſophy when he wiſhed to ſuppreſs the monks in Belgium, and to ſeize upon their revenues. There was ſeen on him a maſk only of philoſophy, covering the hideous countenance of a greedy deſpot, and the people ran to arms. Nothing better than another kind of deſpotiſm has been ſeen in the *revolutionary power*.

We have ſeen in the commiſſioners of the National Convention, nothing but pro-conſuls, working the mine of Belgium for the profit of the French nation; ſeeking to conquer it for the ſovereign of Paris; either to aggrandize his empire, or to ſhare the burdens of the debts, and furniſh a rich prize to the robbers who domineered in France.

* *Tranſlator.*] It may not be amiſs once for all to remark on the ſtyle of all the philoſophical politicians of France. Without any diſtinction in their ſeveral ſects and parties, they agree in treating all nations who will not conform their government, laws, manners, and religion, to the new French faſhion, as *an herd of ſlaves*. They conſider the content with which men live under thoſe governments as ſtupidity, and all attachment to religion, as the effect of the groſſeſt ignorance.

The people of the Netherlands, by their conſtitution, are as much entitled to be called free, as any nation upon earth. The Auſtrian government (until ſome wild attempts the emperor Joſeph made on the French principles, but which have been ſince abandoned by the court of Vienna,) has been remarkably mild. No people were more at their eaſe than the Flemiſh ſubjects, particularly the lower claſſes. It is curious to hear this great oculiſt talk of couching the *cataract* by which the Netherlands were *blinded*, and hindered from ſeeing, in its proper colours, the beautiful viſion of the French Republic, which he has himſelf painted with ſo maſterly an hand. That people muſt needs be dull, blind, and brutalized by fifteen hundred years of ſuperſtition, (the time elapſed ſince the introduction of Chriſtianity amongſt them,) who could prefer their former ſtate to the *preſent ſtate of France!* The reader will remark, that the only difference between Briſſot and his adverſaries, is in the *mode* of bringing other nations into the pale of the French Republic—*They* would aboliſh the order and claſſes of ſociety and all religion at a ſtroke; Briſſot would have juſt the ſame thing done, but with more addreſs and management.

Do you believe the Belgians have ever been the dupes of thoſe well-rounded periods, which they vended in the pulpit, in order to familiariſe them to the idea of an union with France? Do you believe they were ever impoſed upon by thoſe votes and reſolutions, made by what is called acclamation, for their union, of which corruption paid one part, * and fear forced the remainder? Who, at this time of day, is unacquainted with the ſprings and wires of their miſerable puppet ſhew? *Who does not know the farces of primary aſſemblies, compoſed of a preſident, of a ſecretary, and of ſome aſſiſtants, whoſe day's work was paid for?* No; it is not by means which belong only to thieves and deſpots that the foundations of liberty can be laid in an enſlaved country. It is not by thoſe means, that a new-born republic, a people who know not yet the elements of republican governments, can be united to us. Even ſlaves do not ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by ſuch artifices; and if they have not the ſtrength to reſiſt, they have at leaſt the ſenſe to know how to appreciate the value of ſuch an attempt.

If we would attach the Belgians to us, we muſt at leaſt enlighten their minds by *good writings*; we muſt ſend to them *miſſionaries*, and not deſpotic commiſſioners.† We ought to give them time to ſee; to perceive by themſelves the advantages of liberty; the unhappy effects of ſuperſtition; the fatal ſpirit of prieſthood. And whilſt we waited for this moral revolution, we ſhould have accepted the offers which they inceſſantly repeated, to join to the French army, an army of 50,000 men; to entertain them at their own expence: and to advance to France, the ſpecie of which ſhe ſtood in need.

But have we ever ſeen thoſe fifty thouſand ſoldiers who were to join our army, as ſoon as the ſtandard of liberty ſhould be diſplayed in Belgium? Have we ever ſeen thoſe treaſures which they were to count into our hands? Can we either accuſe the ſterility of their country, or the penury of their treaſure, or the coldneſs of their love for liberty? No! deſpotiſm and anarchy, theſe are the benefits which we have tranſplanted into their ſoil. We have acted, we have ſpoken like maſters; and from that time we have found the Flemings nothing but jugglers, who made the grimace of liberty for money; or ſlaves, who in their hearts curſed their new tyrants. Our commiſſioners addreſs them in this ſort; "you have nobles and prieſts "among you, drive them out without delay, or we will nei-"ther be your brethren nor your patrons." They anſwered: give us but time; only leave to us the care of reforming theſe inſtitutions. Our anſwer to them was, "No! it muſt be at the "moment; it muſt be on the ſpot, or we will treat you as ene-"mies; we will abandon you to the reſentment of the Auſtrians.

* See the correſpondence of Dumourier, eſpecially the letter of the 12th of March.

† *Tranſlator.*] They have not as yet proceeded farther with regard to the Engliſh dominions Here we only ſee as yet *the good writings* of Payne, and of his learned aſſociates, and the labours of the *miſſionary clubs*, and other zealous inſtructors.

What

What could the diſarmed Belgians object to all this, ſurrounded as they were by ſeventy thouſand men? They had only to hold their tongues, and to bow down their heads before their maſters! They did hold their tongues, and their ſilence is received as a ſincere and free aſſent.

Have not the ſtrangeſt artifices been adopted to prevent that people from retreating, and to conſtrain them to an union? It was foreſeen, that as long as they were unable to effect an union, the ſtates would preſerve the ſupreme authority amongſt themſelves. Under pretence, therefore, of relieving the people, and of exerciſing the ſovereignty in their right, at one ſtroke they aboliſhed all the duties and taxes; they ſhut up all the treaſuries. From that time no more receipts; no more public money; no more means of paying the ſalaries of any man in office appointed by the ſtates. Thus was anarchy organiſed amongſt the people, that they might be compelled to throw themſelves into our arms. It became neceſſary for thoſe who adminiſtered their affairs, under the penalty of being expoſed to ſedition, and in order to avoid their throats being cut, to have recourſe to the treaſury of France. What did they find in this treaſury? ASSIGNATS.——Theſe Aſſignats were advanced at par to Belgium. By this means, on the one hand, they naturaliſed this currency, in that country; and on the other, they expected to make a good pecuniary tranſaction. Thus it is that covetouſneſs cut its throat with its own hands. *The Belgians have ſeen in this forced introduction of aſſignats, nothing but a double robbery*; and they have only the more violently hated the union with France.

Recollect the ſolicitude of the Belgians on that ſubject. With what earneſtneſs did they conjure you to take off a retro-active effect from theſe aſſignats, and to prevent them from being applied to the payment of debts that were contracted anterior to the union?

Did not this language energetically enough ſignify that they looked upon the aſſignats as a leproſy, and the union as a deadly contagion?

And yet what regard was paid to ſo juſt a demand? It was buried in the committee of finance. That committee wanted to make anarchy the means of an union. They only buſied themſelves in making the Belgic provinces ſubſervient to their finances.

Cambon ſaid loftily before the Belgians themſelves; the Belgian war coſts us hundreds of millions. Their ordinary revenues, and even ſome extraordinary taxes, will not anſwer to our reimburſements; and yet we have occaſion for them. The mortgage of our aſſignats draws near its end. What muſt be done? Sell the church property of Brabant. There is a mortgage of two thouſand millions, (eighty millions ſterling.) How ſhall we get poſſeſſion of them? By an immediate Union. Inſtantly they declared this Union. Men's minds were not diſpoſed to it. What does it ſignify? Let us make them vote by

means of money. Without delay, therefore, they ſecretly order the miniſter of foreign affairs to diſpoſe of four or five hundred thouſand livres, (20,000l. ſterling,) to *make the vagabonds of Bruſſels drunk, and to buy proſelytes to the union in all the ſtates.* But even theſe means, it was ſaid, will obtain but a weak minority in our favour. What does that ſignify? *Revolutions, ſaid they, are made only by minorities. It is the minority which has made the revolution of France; it is a minority which has made the people triumph.*

The Belgic provinces were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the voracious cravings of this financial ſyſtem. Cambon wanted to unite every thing, that he might ſell every thing. Thus he forced the union of Savoy; in the war with Holland, he ſaw nothing but gold to ſeize on, and aſſignats to ſell at par.* Do not let us diſſemble, ſaid he one day to the committee of general defence, in preſence even of the patriot deputies of Holland, you have no eccleſiaſtical goods to offer us for our indemnity.—IT IS A REVOLUTION IN THEIR COUNTERS AND IRON CHESTS,‡ that muſt be made amongſt the DUTCH. The word was ſaid, and the bankers *Abema*, and *Vanſlaphorſt* underſtood it.

Do you think that that word has not been worth an army to the Stadtholder, that it has not cooled the ardour of the Dutch patriots, that it has not commanded the vigorous defence of Williamſtadt?

Do you believe that the patriots of Amſterdam, when they read the preparatory decree which gave France an execution on their goods; do you believe, that thoſe patriots would not have liked better to have remained under the government of the Stadtholder, who took from them no more than a fixed portion of their property, than to paſs under that of a revolutionary power, which would make a complete revolution in their bureaus and ſtrong boxes, and reduce them to wretchedneſs and rags?† Robbery and anarchy, inſtead of encouraging, will always ſtifle revolutions.

But why, they object to me, have not you and your friends choſen to expoſe theſe meaſures in the roſtrum of the National Convention? Why have you not oppoſed yourſelf to all theſe fatal projects of union?

There are two anſwers to make here, one general, one particular.

You complain of the ſilence of honeſt men! You quite forget then, honeſt men are the objects of your ſuſpicion. Suſpicion, if it does not ſtain the ſoul of a courageous man, at leaſt arreſts his

* *Author.*] The ſame thing will happen in Savoy. The perſecution of the clergy has ſoured people's minds. The Commiſſaries repreſent them to us as good Frenchmen.—I put them to the proof. Where are the legions? How, thirty thouſand Savoyards—Are they not armed to defend, in concert with us, their liberty?

‡ *Tranſlator.*] *Portefeuille*—is the word in the original. It ſignifies all moveable property which may be repreſented in bonds, notes, bills, ſtocks, or any other ſort of public or private ſecurities. I do not know of a ſingle word in Engliſh that anſwers it; I have therefore ſubſtituted that of *Iron Cheſts*, as coming neareſt to the idea.

† In the original, *à la Sanſculoterie.*

thoughts

thoughts in their paſſage to his lips. The ſuſpicions of a good citizen, freeze thoſe men, whom the calumny of the wicked could not ſtop in their progreſs.

You complain of their ſilence! You forget then, that you have often eſtabliſhed an inſulting equality between them and men covered with crimes, and made up of ignominy.—

You forget then, that you have twenty times left them covered with opprobrium by your galleries.

You forget then, that you have not thought yourſelves ſufficiently powerful to impoſe ſilence upon theſe galleries.

What ought a wiſe man do in the midſt of theſe circumſtances? He is ſilent. He waits the moment when the paſſions give way: he waits till reaſon ſhall preſide, and till the multitude ſhall liſten to her voice.

What has been the tactic diſplayed during all theſe unions? Cambon, incapable of political calculation, boaſting his ignorance in the diplomatic, flattering the ignorant multitude, lending his name and popularity to the anarchiſts, ſeconded by their vociferations, denounced inceſſantly as counter-revolutioniſts, thoſe intelligent perſons who were deſirous, at leaſt, of having things diſcuſſed. To oppoſe the acts of union, appeared to Cambon an over act of treaſon. The wiſh ſo much as to reflect and to deliberate, was in his eyes a great crime. He calumniated our intentions. The voice of every deputy, eſpecially my voice, would infallibly have been ſtifled. There were ſpies on the very monoſyllables that eſcaped our lips.

Well! who were joined with Cambon in commanding thoſe precipitated Unions? Who ſtifled all diſcuſſion upon them? Who before-hand poiſoned the intentions of well-meaning men? The *anarchiſts!* Acts of union ſeemed to double their prey. It was adding to the heap of their dilapidations. In their thoughts they devoured the inheritance of the people. They opened their throats againſt every man who from regard to juſtice would tear it from them.

In ſpight of their rage, Gaudet in the committee frequently ſet himſelf in oppoſition to this ſyſtem; becauſe the oppoſition, which was impoſſible in the roſtrum, was, at leaſt, poſſible at a committee. I myſelf combated it, in concurrence with him; becauſe theſe ſchemes of union did not ſeem to us deſirable, but ſo far as they were founded upon attachment and upon a reciprocal intereſt; becauſe in theſe compulſory acts of union, we ſaw neither that intereſt, nor that reciprocal attachment; becauſe we believed, that before we can effect an union, we ought to make ourſelves beloved; to prove ourſelves virtuous and humane, and not robbers and murderers; becauſe, in ſhort, we foreſaw the *denouements* of this tragedy: we foreſaw that the Belgians would ſoon be againſt us, from the moment they did not ſhow themſelves for us, in numbers and with alacrity.

This prediction was verified; and once more I ſay, we owe our misfortune to this *revolutionary power*, which was but a deſpotiſm in diſguiſe, and to the tyranny of commiſſioners, and to the pillages, and exceſſes of the ſoldiers. The ſource of all has been

been in the ſyſtem and in the preponderating influence of the anarchiſts.

I do not however mean to diſſemble the faults and the treaſons of many of our generals, not that I believe they had great part in our misforunes.

I know, that in delivering himſelf too much up to his natural preſumption, hoping, as he did in Belgium, to ſupply by fortunate accidents every thing that was wanting to him, Dumourier did not take all the meaſures that were neceſſary for the execution of his deſigns.

I know that Miranda had not all the ſtores which were neceſſary for bombarding Maeſtricht; that Dumourier had reckoned too much upon his intelligence with the patriots of that town, ſince he wrote to Miranda that the gates would be opened at the third bomb; while five thouſand were thrown in vain.

I know that Vallence, who commanded the army of obſervation cantoned at Liege and upon Roer, ſhould have repaired thither fifteen days ſooner; that the cantonments ſhould have been broken up; that the camp of obſervation ſhould have been formed, and prepared to prevent the paſſage of the Roer; that the generals Lanoul and Stingel might before-hand have been able to prepare another camp behind Aix la Chappelle; and, in ſhort, have made themſelves ſure of preventing the paſſage of the Meuſe.

I know that all being forced, and Liege menaced, it was agreeable to the ſtate of affairs to empty it of its wealth, and to burn the magazines there; and that general Thouvenot has, perhaps, given proofs of his treaſon in letting all fall into the hands of the Auſtrians.

I know all that; but I aſk myſelf how our commiſſioner inquiſitors who were on the ſpot, who ought to have known every thing,—the plans for the campaign, the ſituations of the armies, the reports concerning the marches of the enemy, how they came not to be acquainted with the formation and progreſs of that army of fifty thouſand men? How they came not to take the neceſſary means to obſtruct its paſſage, or to diſpute it better, in order to enable us to empty our magazines, to carry away the foreign riches, and to render the retreat of the troops leſs diſaſtrous, and leſs humiliating?

I aſk myſelf, how the commiſſioners, living in intimacy with Dumourier, the other generals, and their etat major, hearing every day the declarations of Dumourier and of his principal officers againſt the Convention, how they did not penetrate their perfidious deſigns? How comes it that they have not endeavoured to prevent their effects? I aſk myſelf how it happens, that inſtead of making them known, they came to the committee, and to the roſtrum of the Convention, to make the eulogy of Dumourier? How comes it that they declared with vehemence againſt that ſection which demanded a decree againſt him? I aſk myſelf how it happened, and by what accident it was that, preciſely at that epoch, Robertſpiere diſcontinued his declamations againſt Dumourier? Marat not only gave up his denunciations, but even affirmed, that the ſafety of France depended upon Dumourier! On that man

who

who at that very hour was conſpiring againſt the republic! I aſk myſelf how, and by what means thoſe ſudden eulogies, inexplicable to us, coincided with the conſpiracy of the tenth of March? A conſpiracy which alſo tended to diſſolve the Convention, and to change our government? I aſk myſelf how it has happened, that in the midſt of all theſe treaſons, the commiſſioners ſuſpended only one general, and that general faithful to the Republic, who had refuſed to enter into the coalition of the counter-revolutioniſts——general Miranda?

I loſe myſelf in this chaos of enigmas. Time has not given us the key; and it becomes not a republican to ground an accuſation upon mere probabilities.

But I will ſay, that if the commiſſioners, inſtead of delivering themſelves up to their pleaſures, to their intrigues, or to acts of authority, had diligently ſtudied the ſpirit of the Belgians, if they had given us faithful reports upon their diſpoſitions, if they had freely announced the horror this people felt at the *revolutionary power*, the Convention, to be ſure, would have abandoned that diſaſtrous ſyſtem of Cambon, which the commiſſioners choſe to foſter. They would have preferred more fraternal meaſures, and have ſpared many misfortunes to France.

Theſe are not the only misfortunes which we owe to the headſtrong diſpoſitions of Cambon——The diſaſters of our finances are in a great degree his work; and I ſhould think myſelf culpable towards the nation, which muſt be at laſt enlightened, if I did not here lay open my whole thoughts.

Supplying the want of information, by a great activity, by an happy memory, by an imagination lively, but without regularity, without juſtneſs, without judgment, and without knowledge; carrying into his reaſonings upon finance, and into his calculations, the ſame impetuoſity, the ſame violence, which he diſplays in his impaſſioned controverſies, Cambon has nevertheleſs acquired a reputation in the finances which he is not entitled to; and he has obtained a preponderancy which is fatal to France. He owes the one to certain ſtatements which it is difficult to attribute to his pen, or to his parts, when they are known; he owes the other to the favour of the patriots, whoſe eſteem he gained by the ſervices he did to the revolution in his part of the country.

Supported by this, he arrogated to himſelf, as well in the legiſlative aſſembly as in the Convention, a kind of financial dictatorſhip; for no one has more ſtrongly declaimed againſt a dictatorſhip, and no one has more frequently uſurped it than Cambon; no one has better known the ſecret of bringing his colleagues into ſubjection, and of driving away ſuch of them as were his ſuperiors in knowledge—His genius conſiſts in one word to *iſſue*—and always to *iſſue* aſſignats! He has augmented the maſs by above 3,000 millions in eighteen months. But has he thought of any one meaſure to reduce that maſs? Why has he not employed thoſe that were preſented by Condorcet, whoſe natural timidity has always unfortunately kept him at a diſtance from the roſtrum? Why has he not propoſed and carried a decree for ſome of thoſe meaſures preſented by Claviere in 1791, who never ceaſed from that

time

time to lay before his eyes the cruel diſorders into which we muſt be thrown by the ſucceſſive iſſues of aſſignats, if from the very firſt iſſue of them meaſures were not taken to reduce the quantity? Why did he not propoſe his loan in aſſignats, ſo eaſy at that time, and which would have obtained that reduction? Why did he not preſs the ſale of the national foreſts, which muſt have brought back a quantity of aſſiguats—Foreſts, whoſe *incalculable waſte* leſſens their value every day? Why, again, did he not adopt the meaſures that were propoſed to induce the purchaſers of the national property to anticipate their payments; an anticipation which muſt have augmented the maſs of the paper to be burnt? In a word, why has he diſdained ſo many other ingenious expedients that were ſhewn in the memorials of Claviere, that were too little read, of that Claviere from whom he wiſhed to take leſſons in 1791, and whom he wiſhed to make his diſciple in 1792; whoſe talents and genius he has inceſſantly kept dormant and perſecuted; becauſe he knew the man's ſuperiority over thoſe miſerable plagiaries, who lent him their narrow conceptions, by ſuggeſting to him expedients that were either ruinous or illuſory.

For inſtance, wherefore was that prohibition of ſelling gold, when the national intereſt obliges the treaſury to make a cuſtom of purchaſing it; when commerce itſelf wanted it for its foreign balances?

What was that ſanguinary law that was propoſed againſt the ſale of gold, but a tacit confeſſion of the impotence of the law? Wherefore was that interruption of commerce with London, Amſterdam, and all the great towns, when France is obliged to draw ſo much from abroad, when foreigners are ſo much indebted to France? Does not the circuit occaſioned by this interruption, operate as a tax entirely to the loſs of the nation?

But they would proſcribe all ſtock-jobbing.—Why, then, did not Cambon ſhut up the exchange ſooner, as Claviere has been inceſſantly requiring ſince 1791? it was going ſtrait to the very ſource of the evil. Why, after he had himſelf confeſſed that ſtock-jobbing could only be combated by counter ſtock-jobbing; why, after he had confeſſed that ſtock-jobbing ſo prodigiouſly raiſed the price of ſpecie, why did they not grant to the executive council ſome millions for the operations of a bank for raiſing exchange? ſince it was proved, that with that ſacrifice, it might, perhaps, have made a ſaving of more than an hundred millions, uſeleſsly ſacrificed in that purchaſe of money, which is enveloped in ſuch darkneſs, although it may be the moſt cruel and the moſt burthenſome tax for the nation, and with which conſequently ſhe ought to be beſt acquainted. This purchaſe has often been truſted to the hands of men who had an intereſt in running counter to the revolution, and to the operations of government.*

Why

* *Author*] They have without ceaſing reproached Cambon that he employed on theſe purchaſes ariſtocratic brokers. He has always kept them; he has truſted conſiderable operations of this kind to ſuch houſes as Bourdieu and Cholet in England; which, after the declaration of war, has made the

Engliſh

Why again did not Cambon employ himſelf in finding out means to diminiſh the uſe of *aſſignats?* and for example, why did not he (who never ceaſed in the roſtrum to denounce the little dilapidators) denounce the firſt of dilapidations? Why did not he, who from the month of Auguſt, 1792, aſſerted, that the accountant branch of the war office, that gulph which ſwallows up the wealth of the nation, was in a frightful diſorder, why has he not propoſed meaſures to cure that diſorder? Why has he left things to continue quietly in the ſame ſtate; inſomuch that in May, 1793, he, Cambon, ſtill announced, that it was impoſſible *for any man living to draw out a clear account of the ſtate of that department?* It is, becauſe, to clean theſe augean ſtables courage was wanting boldly to look in the face thoſe anarchiſts who domineer and peculate with impunity in that department; it is, that it was neceſſary to have the courage to make them empty their pockets; it is, that Cambon not only never has had that courage, but that he has ſince coaleſced with the offenders! He who nevertheleſs had confeſſed to the committee of general defence that bankruptcy was inevitable if anarchy prevailed, if they did not ſeverely puniſh the preachers up of the Agrarian Law, of ſeditions, &c.

At preſent, what is the reſult of this complaiſance of Cambon for the anarchiſts?* Of this want of ſkill, and want of foreſight with which he has ſuffered the accumulation both of diſburſements and of the maſs of the aſſignats?

Engliſh government ſeize from them about five millions. They have never given in an account of this loſs to the Convention. At this period the treaſury, directed by Cambon, had about twenty-five millions of money purchaſed in England, and which was expoſed to ſeizure. What is become of that money no one knows.

What is the ſtate of this tranſaction? We know nothing of it. [*Tranſlator.*] Poſſibly the author may have done injuſtice to thoſe agents in London.

* *Author.*] I ſhould make two obſervations which have ſtruck me in examining Cambon's conduct.—I obſerve that immediately the Roſtrum affects to flatter the multitude, and every flatterer of the multitude makes me ſuſpect his views.—

I obſerve that Cambon has never been attacked by the Journaliſts who attack the moſt virtuous men, and theſe managements of calumny increaſe my ſuſpicions; poſſibly it is the reſult of his connections with certain perſons who diſpoſe of the pens of Calumniators who are in their pay.

I ſay nothing of the reports that are ſpread upon the increaſe of fortunes. I know nothing of it, and I do not ſo eaſily adopt common reports; yet how is his oppoſition to the law propoſed by Buzot explained? Who forces every Deputy to give in the balance of his fortune acquired ſince the Legiſlative or Conſtituent Aſſembly, and to juſtify the cauſes of its encreaſe.—Does Cambon ſo much fear the light? Mine is ready—The account ſtands in one word. *Nothing*—and it is the only anſwer that I make to the epithet that he has given me—The ally of PITT. If madneſs has not then turned his head, if he has ſaid it, if he could repeat it in cold blood—Cambon is an infamous calumniator.

The ſtill increaſing maſs of aſſignats—depreciation always increaſing—the mortgage ſecurity decreaſing in value and in quantity—expenditure always increaſing—public revenue decreaſing in proportion—impoſſiblity of being able to maintain the war and to fulfil engagements,—impoſſibility of drawing materials from abroad.—Fall of manufactures,—diſtreſs of the labourers,—exceſſive riſe in the price of proviſions,—general miſery of the people, ſedition, &c. &c.

Here are the evils to which we are expoſed by falſe calculation, and by the vicious ſyſtem of finance that Cambon has followed: evils that a man of genius at the head of the finance would infallibly have prevented; always ſuppoſing that he had attached himſelf to a ſyſtem of order, the only one that is capable of eſtabliſhing the republican government, and ſaving France; always ſuppoſing he had combated that ſyſtem *of a revolutionary* power, which cannot but ruin the republic as well as the finances: evils of which it is ſtill poſſible to diminiſh the extent and the conſequences; if at length a diſpoſition is found to abandon that fatal ſyſtem.

I confeſs I am ſtill to learn, how men hope to eſtabliſh liberty by deſpotiſm, or to repel their enemies, or to diſperſe the diſcontented, or even to diminiſh their number, without eſtabliſhing order throughout.

I am again at a loſs to know what the anarchiſts mean, what they aim at, by the word *revolutionary*.

When we aſk an explanation from an anarchiſt, he is very much embarraſſed, which is never the caſe with his adverſary. I wiſh, ſays the latter, for order *proviſionally*; and conſequently for the execution of the laws. I wiſh to find a conſtitution as ſpeedily as poſſible: becauſe *every one wiſhes to know the ſocial contract under which he muſt live:* becauſe it is in that contract only, that he will find a ſolid pledge of his happineſs, and an incentive to fight with reſolution againſt the enemies of his country.

The anarchiſt ſays, without doubt there muſt be order, there muſt be a conſtitution, but the time for it is not yet come. Well! why not? is the anſwer.

Becauſe, ſays he, the revolution is not finiſhed, becauſe we have mal-contents within, enemies abroad, and that the revolutionary power is alone able to ſubdue both the one and the other.

I anſwer to the anarchiſts—by what means will you ſubdue your enemies abroad? Is it not by troops, by money, and by proviſions? By what means do you propoſe to have troops? Is it not when your fellow-citizens ſhall become ſincerely attached to your new government? Is it not when they ſhall be acquainted with it?

But

But if government does not exiſt, if inſtead of liberty, nothing ſhall be ſeen but acts of deſpotiſm; if inſtead of order, nothing is ſeen but confuſion, how will you find men ready to ſhed their blood to promote diſorder? How can you expect that the labourer can ſow the earth, of which he has no aſſurance that he ſhall gather the fruits? That the merchant will buy and ſell when his ſhop may be pillaged? How will you get money or aſſignats while fear makes men hide their money; when diſorder reduces the value of aſſignats, and prevents the purchaſing of lands, the produce of which would augment their value?

Let us examine things at home. What is it that increaſes the number of mal-contents? Is it not the fear that every citizen feels either for his fortune, or for his enjoyments, or for his life? and by what means do you propoſe to diminiſh the number of theſe mal-contents, if you perſiſt in that ſtate of violence, where every day property is violated, or the ſafety of individuals is attacked? Is it by commiſſioners, *who in one day diſtribute more thouſands of Lettres de Cachets, than were diſtributed in the old times by all the inquiſitors?* Is it by an enormous creation of aſſignats, which portend diſturbances beyond the power of calculation? Is it by exciting the poor againſt the rich, that you will make proſelytes to your ſyſtem?

In ſhort, be perſuaded that to continue what you call the "*revolutionary power*" is to wiſh the deſtruction of the revolution. Convulſions in politics as well as phyſics muſt have their term: their too long duration is mortal.

In two words, do you wiſh to have ſtrength ſufficient to overcome your enemies abroad? Have order, have a conſtitution. With a conſtitution you will have armies. Without a conſtitution your armies will ſoon diſappear.

Have order, have a good conſtitution, and your mal-contents will ſoon be diſperſed.

I go farther,—have order, have a conſtitution, and the foreign powers will ſoon aſk peace of you. *How can you expect, that in this uncertain and wavering ſtate in which you are, foreign powers can conſent to treat with a Convention, which is every day dragged through the dirt; becauſe it is the loweſt diſgrace to treat with an executive power which is without intermiſſion denounced, humiliated, and tottering*.*

* *Tranſlator.*] Will any one contradict M. Briſſot, and aſſert, that Great Britain might have treated with France in the laſt ſeſſions, in 1792, when it was propoſed in the Houſe of Commons to ſend ambaſſadors to Paris for that purpoſe? Is the time or the people now more fitted for negociation? All theſe interrogatories have ſince received one concluſive anſwer—The *Guillotine*. This is the reſource by which they have hitherto ſupported that ſyſtem, by which our author ſuppoſes they muſt be ruined.

When the powers of Europe ſent their ambaſſadors to the long Parliament of England and ſought its alliance, that parliament, and the executive council appointed by them, poſſeſſed a great force. They cauſed the laws to be reſpected; they broke, and without meeting any reſiſtance, the mayor and the aldermen of London, who had refuſed obedience to their decrees. There was an authority, there was a force! they were ſure that the treaty concluded with ſuch a power would be executed.

But foreign powers who would treat *with us in the actual ſtate that we ſtand in, could they entertain a ſimilar hope?* No, they ſay—France is divided by factions. One triumphs to-day: to-morrow it will be the triumph of another. If you treat with one, the other will break the treaty. There is no ſtability. Let us wait for that ſtability; and then we will treat.

I believe more than perhaps any other man does, that we have within ourſelves all poſſible reſources for the ſubjugation of our enemies, provided thoſe reſources are well adminiſtered. I believe that we ought not to lay down our arms till the honour of our Republic ſhall be vindicated, and her independence confirmed and acknowledged. But I believe, too, that the object of this war, like the object of all other wars, ought to be peace; and that every good Frenchman ought to look out for the means of accelerating that event, becauſe the moſt ſucceſsful war always moſt cruelly preſſes upon the indigent claſs of the people.

The end then of the foreign war lies in the end of the domeſtic anarchy. Have a conſtitution; have an energetic government which puts the laws in execution, and you will ſoon have peace. For foreign powers alſo feel the want of peace: *but they want to have it ſolid and durable.* What oppoſes itſelf with moſt force to the perfecting of this conſtitution, and to the eſtabliſhment of this government? It is *anarchy* that does it, which will be ſatisfied with nothing but a *revolutionary power*, with nothing but revolutionary meaſures; and which fulminates an anathema againſt a conſtitution, as againſt an act of treaſon.*

We have run through the cauſes of our misfortunes; our actual ſituation muſt be looked at, to the end that we may be able to apply the remedy.

It hardly ſeemed poſſible to add any thing to the humiliation of that aſſembly and executive power when the author wrote. We, however, ſee that they can be placed in a ſituation far more baſe and degrading, and far more removed from the poſſibility of any negociation with them.

* *Tranſlator.*] The Anarchiſts have, ſince the author's impriſonment, made a ſort of code which they call a conſtitution. It does not differ ſubſtantially from the former delirious contrivance of the ſame kind. But, whatever its intrinſic merits may be, it is ſuſpended as to its execution, by the *Revolutionary Power*, the *Revolutionary Committees*, and the *Revolutionary Tribunals*; all which are in far greater activity than ever.

Here,

Here, then, is our ſituation—

A nation numerous, active, induſtrious, fertile in reſources, that nature ſeems phyſically to have predeſtined to a republican government, by its facility of interior communication, and by the natural dependencies which the departments have on one another: a nation, the majority of which wiſhes for a republic but would alſo have order.

Several departments where the beſt diſpoſition is predominant, which the anarchiſts could not corrupt, by miſſionaries of blood, whom they have twice ſent for that purpoſe. Departments who are ſtill to learn that the Convention has neither liberty nor power to break the force of the factious who hold a dominion over it. And why are the departments thus ignorant? Becauſe the beſt patriots among the journaliſts have kept up their error, in order to preſerve the confidence of the departments to the Convention which is neceſſary to her.*

Some departments, inflamed by the fire of a revolt, which our rulers ought to have endeavoured to appeaſe by inſtruction, whilſt they ought alſo to have put a ſtop to it by arms: a revolt that they have certainly inflamed by ſtriking indiſtinctly with the ſword of the law, not only the chiefs, but all thoſe unfortunate men who, whether by ſeduction or by compulſion, follow their banners; a revolt that will not be quelled, but by combining meaſures gentle, and fit to enlighten, with that great diſplay of force, which would diſpenſe with the ſpilling ſo much blood. For it is the blood of our brethren.

Armies, which wiſh only to fight for the republic; and who equally deteſt kings, dictators, and triumvirs, and all ſpirit of faction, but who are ſo far removed from the ſcene that they do not ſee, even in the journals, any thing to enable them to form a right judgment.

Popular ſocieties, which have almoſt every where contributed to raiſe the edifice of liberty, which all wiſh a republic; but ſome of which are miſled upon the queſtion of the mode of enſuring a good republican government, by the anarchiſts who direct the ſocieties of Paris, by their perfidious correſpondence, by their ſecret emiſſaries, and by the long habit that all thoſe ſocieties are in, of looking on that of Paris as the moſt pure focus of patriotiſm; in ſhort, by the deſpotiſm by which they have driven from thoſe ſocieties, all regular diſcuſſion, all men of information, and all the documents which might have enlightened them.

* *Tranſlator.*] The author has endeavoured in vain to open their eyes. They know the ſtate of the Convention, yet all the departments whoſe diſpoſition he commends have ſubmitted by fear or by force, to thoſe whom he, properly enough, calls the anarchiſts; he has ſtrangely miſcalculated the power, or at leaſt the energy, of thoſe whom he ſuppoſes ſober and orderly republicans.

In

In turning our attention to Paris as a center, there is to be ſeen *a Convention*, pure in its majority, but conſtrained in its movements; wafted in its energy; almoſt always commanded in its reſults and determination; reckoning too much upon the *chances* of what may happen; having no vigour but at ſudden jerks; excellent when it purſues its firſt impreſſion; but liable to ſuſpicions; ſubject alſo to be intimidated. This Convention is compoſed of three elements,—of three parties eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed.

* The firſt the ſworn enemy of the anarchiſts, enlightened, irreproachable, courageous, and determined either to die or to eſtabliſh liberty by order.

The ſecond wiſhing to hold the balance among republicans, friends to order, comprehending conſiderable talents, great probity, real patriotiſm,—but intermingled with many weak men who can do nothing but complain; who believe that to capitulate with crimes is the way to ſtifle them; put in motion by whiſpers of certain artful men who play the part of ſpies to the anarchiſts, and move the ſprings of terror, of ſuſpicion, of calumny; directed, without daring to own it, by five or ſix individuals, who, crying out againſt the *ariſtocracy of talents*, have craftily arranged for themſelves a pretty agreeable ſort of deſpotiſm, which they exerciſe, by ſometimes capitulating and participating with the anarchiſts, and ſometimes by declaiming againſt them, when they perceive that they are the weakeſt.

A third party, (the anarchiſts) few in number, but who well know how to ſupply the deficiency by management—compoſed of dupes and rogues—compoſed of men of good lungs, who have only the faculty of coining phraſes, of ſhouting and bawling, and raiſing clamours and outcries, directed by certain hypocritical chiefs, who talk continually of *Sans Culotterie* whilſt they are affecting an inſolent luxury; whilſt they are augmenting every day their own property, who are puppets of the dictatorſhip rather than dictators; who puſh France towards royalty, by always talking of a republic, and not being ſatisfied to eſtabliſh it, except upon laws of blood.

Galleries, where the ſovereign maſſacres domineer, ſo well painted by the energetic Fauchet. Galleries deſignedly familiarized, and for a long time, with inſolence, diſorder, and vociferation, inſulting with impunity the deputies of whoſe courage the anarchiſts are in dread.

Juſt at the *outſide of the hall* certain groups of *cut-throats*, placed there to outrage and menace the deputies in their paſſage.

* *Author.*] They marked this party under the name of "*the right hand ſide.*" The other under the name of "*the flat ſide,*" and the third has taken the name of "*the mountain.*"

In

In the gardens and the places about, groups of idlers, who go there as to a ſhow; and of banditti, who preach the order of the day, iſſued by the ſecret directories; and of female bacchanals, who talk of nothing but cutting off heads.

Sections where, till the movement given in theſe latter times, by the recruiting law, honeſt men dared not ſhew themſelves; where twenty or thirty individuals idle, or in pay, dictated laws. Sections numerouſly attended at preſent, and conſequently better, but too ſubject to change, making and unmaking their reſolutions, according to the time, and to the humour of the party which happens to be uppermoſt.

A people more divided in opinion than it appears to be; compoſed of a great number of ariſtocrats, who ſecretly deſire the return of the old government; who hate the republicans ſtill more than they do the anarchiſts; who to make ſure of their property, would defend the former: who to gain their beloved object ſtir up the latter; compoſed in part of men who live upon their induſtry; who weary of commotions which give no means of livelihood, let things go on, are willing to ſee what will happen, applaud the friends of order in ſecret, but command even their faces to be mute; compoſed of men who ſincerely wiſh a republic, but who are not numerous enough to convert the ariſtocrats, to cure the indifferent of their lethargy, or to conquer the profligacy of three or four thouſand robbers diſperſed up and down in this city.

A public force which is not organized, which is not armed; to which, however the juſtice muſt be done, to ſay that they keep up the particular police with care.

A department that is null, or rendered paralytic, when it does not join itſelf with the anarchiſts.

A municipality, entirely at their devotion, and in a ſtate of open rebellion againſt the Convention.

A ſociety of Jacobins entirely abandoned by all true patriots, by all well informed men, by all the deputies who deſerve any eſteem, or who poſſeſs any modeſty, a ſociety which is delivered up to ambitious and covetous leaders.

An executive council too much diſcredited to be obeyed, tied down with cords too numerous to be able to proceed; loaded with all reſponſibility, though deprived of all power. A council, where the miniſter who holds the moſt important department, that on which the ſafety of France depends, the miniſter of war, is a weak man even in the opinion of his protectors; who, in ſpight of his weakneſs, in ſpight of the diſorders in his offices, in ſpight of the evil he does, is ſtill kept in his place.

A committee of public ſafety—in the hands of which the whole power is really placed; which holds the miniſtry under its ſe-

rula,

rula, diſpoſes of every thing, nominates to every thing, without the leaſt reſponſibility; which is able to influence the departments and the armies, by its commiſſioners, and the ſpirit it inſpires into them; which commands the aſſemblies, by its being the reporter, and by the terror of what they give to be underſtood, rather than what they expreſs, and by that influence, which ſo eaſily transfers itſelf from things of importance to men, who are themſelves of no importance at all; a committee plainly invented, to uſurp under another name, the miniſtry, which they could not directly uſurp; a committee which can ruin or ſerve France, according to its moral, or its immoral character, the talents, or the folly of its members,—a committee, the nomination of which has been produced by an arrangement between the ambition, the fear, and the jealouſy dictated by the conſpirators of the 10th of March, which had all of them their repreſentatives therein; a committee where we look in vain for the extenſive views, capable of embracing the immenſe ſcene occupied by the French Revolution, and for that decided character which, if it does not make itſelf maſter of events, is never maſtered by them,—a committee in which there is found among ſome, rectitude without ſpirit, among others, a ſort of ſpirit without rectitude, and in ſhort, among a third, thoſe who turn ſentences, phraſes, and ſhew a kind of animation, without either ſpirit or rectitude. A committee where the mediocrity of the *doers* can alone give us ſome ſecurity againſt the extent and the abuſe of their powers, but where no conſolation is found for the evil brought upon us by their folly.

Men of diſcernment ought to judge of the committee by one fact. If this committee had ſearched for the cauſe of our evils they would not have ſtopped merely, where the fire ſhewed itſelf, on the frontiers, and at Vendee—they ſhould have ſearched higher; they would have found that cauſe in the want of a conſtitution. They ſhould have ſaid to the aſſembly, the revolt at Vendee, the war abroad, the miſery, the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, our inteſtine diviſions, our anarchy, all is there, all is in the one word, "*there is no conſtitution.*"

Obtain then a conſtitution, obtain one in a month; in a fortnight; in a week if you can; let it but be accepted, and all your evils will be finiſhed. A conſtitution is better than arms. A conſtitution is better than the beſt miſſionaries to the rebels, better than the beſt negociators with foreign powers, better than the beſt meaſures for checking the men who come to tyrannize over you, even within your very precincts.——

They tell of ſavages who cleave their ſculls in order to cure themſelves of the head-ach. That is the very image of our committee of ſafety. It dreams only of war, and of laws of blood,

blood, yet it ſpeaks to us of negociations—children! whom they amuſe! It is madneſs or imbecillity itſelf to reckon upon a peace, or upon allies, while we are without a conſtitution. *There is no making an alliance, there is no treating with anarchy*,—To treat with men, who have not the power to arreſt the guilty, who inſult them at their door, or the women, who in ſpite of their teeth, exerciſe the police of their precinct, or the Jacobines who haughtily ſubſcribe their contingent of heads to be cut off*.

Tyrants are not ſo ſtupid. They treated with Cromwell, whom they deteſted, becauſe he knew how to make himſelf reſpected.——Our cauſe is as good as his was execrable.——Let us make ourſelves reſpected at home, and tyrants will ſoon be at our feet; that is what the committee of public ſafety ſhould have ſaid to the Convention ten days after its formation, and without doubt it would have taken a vigorous part.

Such are the individuals, ſuch the bodies who play a part in the republic; who may cauſe its happineſs or its miſery. After ſuch a ſtate of facts, it is our buſineſs to ſee how the republic can be ſaved The Convention is, and alone ought to be intruſted with that care; all ought to center in her; all ought to proceed from her boſom. Is it good, is it free? All its meaſures will be good and will be powerful. Is it maſtered? The meaſures partake of the nature of the men, and of the bodies which obtain the dominion.

The Convention cannot ſave France, except by eſtabliſhing proviſional order, and in finiſhing a conſtitution.

It cannot eſtabliſh order but in making decrees repreſſive of anarchy as well as carrying them into execution.

Theſe decrees cannot be made and carried into execution but *when the deputies ſhall be ſet free from all perſonal fear*.

This fear will never go off till the Convention is in perfect tranquillity, is ſurrounded with reſpect, with confidence, or at leaſt with a force capable of making general tranquillity and the liberty of every individual reſpected.

The deputies never will believe themſelves free, but when they ſhall be calmly liſtened to, and without being hooted at by the galleries: when they ſhall be no longer threatened (within

* *Author.*] The ſame tactic always takes place in the environs of the new hall. The banditti and the female bacchanals have found means to gain poſſeſſion of it. What can a guard compoſed of plain citizens do, who are changed every day, and who have no idea like the former *guard of honour*, of keeping off a mob from the hall.

A reſolution was paſſed that 400 tickets ſhould be given to the deputies for their brethren of the departments. Theſe women inſult and ſtrike all who paſs to thoſe places. Do you recollect the outrage done to Boneville, author of thoſe excellent patriotic writings? Has the outrage been puniſhed?

their own precincts) to have their throats cut for their opinions: when, in order to repel theſe threats and provications, they ſhall no longer be obliged to come to the Convention armed with ſwords, piſtols, and poignards; *for every deputy is ſtill reduced to that ſad extremity:* when they ſhall no longer for the ſake of their opinions be calumniated, nor proſcribed as a mark for the ſwords of aſſaſſins in the clubs, in the municipality, in the ſections: when they ſhall ſee the Convention, or the tribunals, puniſh or cauſe to be ſeverely puniſhed, both calumniators, ringleaders, and aſſaſſins.

Theſe are the conditions, without which perſonal liberty of opinion cannot exiſt, nor of courſe can the Convention exiſt.

But, it is impoſſible to repreſs the galleries, the aſſaſſins, and the calumniation, the daring attacks of the clubs of Jacobins. * and the uſurpations of the municipality; becauſe it is with theſe elements that the leaders of the Jacobins form their army, an army neceſſarily protected by them; becauſe theſe leaders are maſters of a *real* power, which not only rivals that of the aſſembly, but even entirely cruſhes it. I have cited too many examples.

* Have you not ſeen in thoſe latter times, Chaumette announce to the municipality of Paris, that he had at laſt formed the committee of correſpondence with the 44,000 municipalities, in ſpite of the law of the 25th of October? Have you not ſeen that municipality cauſe the author of the ſection of Bon-Counſeil to be arreſted, becauſe in the name of that ſection, he came to proteſt his zeal for maintaining order, and the independence of the aſſembly? Has this tranſgreſſion which reflected on the aſſembly, been puniſhed?

As to the Jacobins, though there exiſts a law, condemning to death all inſtigators to murder, and the diſſolution of the Convention; though the proſecution of the conſpirators of the 10th of March was ordered, have not the Jacobins at every ſitting renewed this conſpiracy, and provocations to murder? I will quote an example taken literally from the journal of the ſittings of the Jacobins, 12th May, 1793.

—— *A military man*—" Do you wiſh to ſave the country? " the way to " do it is, to exterminate all the wicked before they eſcape; I have ſtudied " the Convention, it is partly compoſed of wicked men, *on whom juſtice muſt* " *be had*, and to that end, alarm-guns muſt be fired and the gates ſhut." (Applauſes.)

Bentabole, the deputy preſident, pretended not to obſerve this inſtigation to murder, and paid the ſoldier ſome vague compliments.—They cried out that he is a man of moderation and a Feuillant.

A citizen of Lyon calling himſelf *deputy of the conſtituent authorities of this city*—" People, you ſuffer miſery in the midſt of bleſſings which encompaſs you, and know not how to ſtrike! The mountain cannot ſave the public weal, *becauſe the majority of the Convention is corrupted.* We muſt make every thing that is impure vaniſh from France. You can never effect a revolution, without bloodſhed. You would be mere children without it. The moderate traduce the friends of the people, but there is a method to put yourſelves above their calumnies, it is to exterminate the moderate."

Gaudet

Gaudet has propoſed the only fit meaſures that are ſuitable to the occaſion. They go at once to their object; they apply a cauſtic to the ſeat of the evil. At every other time, and in every other body, nothing could appear ſo ſimple, ſo natural. Well! The very reading of Gaudet's plan made theſe timid men ſhudder; they truſted ſtill to their palliatives!

Yet, (and it is a truth that ought to be inceſſantly repeated,) as long as the Convention has not the courage to carry the ideas of Gaudet into execution; as long as the Convention *dares not to order an end to be put to the ſittings of the Jacobins of Paris*; as long as it will not order their hall to be ſhut up, and a ſeal put upon their papers; as long as it declines to order proſecution to be carried on againſt thoſe who inſtigate men to murder, and to the diſſolution of the Convention; as long as it ſuffers itſelf to be rendered every day more and more contemptible, every day to be more and more inſulted; as long as it leaves the open rebellion of the municipality of Paris unpuniſhed, the Convention will not be free, ſhe will not be any thing. She cannot ſettle order in any one place, ſince ſhe cannot command it at her own door.—So much for *order*.

As for the *Conſtitution*, there is no hope of ſettling it, but in putting an end to the quarrels, the hatreds, and the ſuſpicions which excite one party of the Aſſembly againſt the other; but by finding the ſecret to hinder the ſcenes of tumult made by the men who are averſe to all conſtitutions, the ſecret to have our debates calm, undiſguiſed, and mature. But is this poſſible? Men who love peace, imagine they always ſee it. *Such men are but too ready completely to forget the ſtorm when they are out of danger*. One or two calm ſittings reſtore their hope, till another violent tempeſt again blows it away. It is thus that they float in perpetual uncertainty, yielding, during the ſtorm, and adding ſtrength to the error of the departments, from the deluſive hopes they derive from every momentary calm. Every one ſays to himſelf, reaſon has had a triumph to-day; anarchy has had the worſt of it; let us then have patience! They do not ſee that the anarchiſts have always the upper hand in the conduct of affairs, and in important deciſions; and it is of theſe men that you would ſilence the paſſions, in order to perfect ſucceſs in your miſſion! Of theſe men, who have ſworn to eternize the diſcuſſion of the conſtitution, in order to eternize their own power! Of theſe men, who know the ſecret of their own ſtrength, ſince they have an hundred times found that twenty of their people, by dint of noiſe, and clamour, and howling, have, after a five or ſix hours obſtinate debate, dictated to three or four hundred men, ſuch decrees as they choſe! No, that ſort of diſpute would have no end, eſpecially if you add to the calculation on paſſions,

the chances of events, which rapidly ſucceed each other, and which will almoſt always draw the attention of the Aſſembly.

In ſhort, as to the force with which it will be neceſſary to encompaſs either the Convention or the authorities, to whom the execution of the law is committed, it can be but of two kinds, moral or phyſical.

The *moral* force will be null, while there exiſts with impunity, whether in the municipality, or in the clubs, ſchools of defamation againſt the conſtituted authorities.

Every neceſſary diſtinction is to be here made. Undoubtedly the Convention continués to hold the confidence of the departments; and this truth deſerves to be well thought upon, eſpecially by ſtrangers, who are but too ready to calculate the fall of the Convention, from the local degradation that ſhe ſuffers, in the opinion of thoſe ſtrangers who fooliſhly conſider this local degradation as a national degradation. No, this laſt does not exiſt, and there lies the ſafety of France.* For the confidence which the Convention is in poſſeſſion of throughout France, is ſufficient to enſure execution of the laws, and reſpect to the members.

Perhaps it may be concluded, through another miſtake, that the Convention having the confidence of the departments, muſt have that moral force which is neceſſary to her for fulfilling the duties of her miſſion. That confidence is not ſufficient to that purpoſe; ſhe muſt alſo join to it in particular the confidence of that great city which ſhe inhabits.

I am very ready to believe with Petion, who has well ſtudied the ſpirit of Paris, that if all her inhabitants were united in the ſections, and were interrogated upon their opinions in regard to the aſſembly, they would almoſt all of them vote in her favour. How is it then that addreſſes, petitions, and arreſts, are every day iſſuing from that town, announcing to the Convention, that ſhe has loſt the confidenee of Paris? It is that honeſt men abandon the place to the anarchiſts.† What is the reſult?—That in appearance the Convention is at war with Paris, and has not her confidence. From the moment then that this war has exiſtence, wherein libels, placards, and addreſſes, take off from the Aſſembly that moral force which ought to ſurround her; where, *in fact*, ſhe is annihilated by uſurpation, and the rivalſhip for

* *Tranſlator.*] All the world has ſeen how well theſe departments have provided for their ſupply. The Jacobins of Paris have triumphed every where: and the author and his friends, members of the Convention, have been abandoned.

† *Author.*] *Quid expectas?* One might ſay with Cicero, who apoſtrophiſed the ſame inertneſs in that claſs of men, during the ſeditions of Cataline. *Quid ergo in veſtatione omnium tuas poſſeſſiones ſacro ſanctas fore putas?*

power,

power, which is ſet up by the clubs, the ſections, and the municipality, it is evident, that the Convention no longer poſſeſſes the ſmalleſt moral force, although ſhe does poſſeſs, *in appearance*, all of that force with which the eighty-four departments can ſurround her. The reaſon is evident; this laſt acts only from a diſtance; acts only by addreſſes, which are laughed at, which never aims a blow at the robbers, and is to them no better than a vain phantom.

To ſupply this moral force, the phyſical force, the force of arms, muſt be called in to make the Aſſembly reſpected, and her decrees executed.

Phyſical force! cry the anarchiſts. You are then tyrants: they only want that force: make yourſelves beloved by the people, and the people will ſerve you for a guard.

Make yourſelves beloved by the people! But by what people do you mean to ſpeak of? By the people of France? The Convention is in poſſeſſion of their confidence. Of the people of Paris? The Convention *believe* themſelves to be in poſſeſſion of it. Is it by that people of robbers who ſurround her incloſure, commit outrage in the galleries, in the clubs, and in the *deſerted* ſections? The Convention would conſider herſelf as degraded, if ſhe poſſeſſed the love of that claſs of people; and it is againſt them, and not againſt the real people, that ſhe calls for actual force.

But how is ſhe to procure that force? The whole of the regular military force which Paris can ſupply, is diſpoſed of in the different armies. The Pariſian guard which ſtays there, and which is honoured by that name, is too much in a ſtate of dependence, from its want of daily bread, and from their individual opinions, and from the relation it holds with the men who put the mob into action, and from a thouſand other incumbrances which will not allow the Convention to rely always upon the ſervice of that guard in her defence.

Will you call for this force from the departments? The anarchiſts will bawl out—a counter-revolution! Federaliſm! This departmental guard might be, perhaps, at preſent, a pretext for diſcord in Paris, or might be ſhortly debauched from the Convention.

Nevertheleſs it is impoſſible for the Convention to ſave France without being free in making her decrees, and without fully inforcing their execution. If ſhe cannot inſure that liberty, that faculty, except through public confidence, or by force; if the confidence of the eighty-five departments is made null by the robbers who infeſt Paris; if no force is on foot able to repreſs them; if by the concurrence of theſe circumſtances, the Convention is under the yoke of a faction which governs her, and who

who by her means, expects to govern France in making her a *mill for decrees* (as Isnard expressed it) we must either consent to destroy the republic in allowing the present Convention of to-day to die of a consumption in the mire, or a prompt and vigorous part must be taken to draw her out, in order to give France a representation that shall carry with it dignity, liberty, and power.

Many methods have been proposed—we will rapidly run them over.

1st. To transfer the Convention to Versailles, or to some other place. But this translation will not remove our passions, nor our divisions from us, nor will it efface the degradation that we lie under. But the body of the people does not pronounce between the parties. Besides, is this translation in other respects practicable?

2d. To convoke our suppleants (those who are chosen to succeed on vacancies) to another town. They are not sufficient in number; and besides, the sense of the people is not taken by this measure.

3d. To augment the Convention by a third of its members. It is the way to double the tumult; to fill the empty seats of every party, without annihilating the parties. This increase of a third of the members would neither produce in their favour more liberty nor more force. We have members enough who wish well to liberty; but there are still more who apprehend violence.

4th. To present, all at once, to the primary assemblies a plan of a committee of constitution; to engage them to accept it; and to name another legislature.

This would be the best way if we had the strength of mind to raise ourselves above little passions, and wisdom to look for nothing in this plan of constitution, but a measure pressed upon us by a regard for general safety, rather than a plan requiring minute care to make all its parts perfect. Without doubt it has defects, but it offers easy means of reform when we shall have peace.

I will not cease to repeat it.—Let us have a constitution, and we shall have a respected legislature, laws that will be obeyed, physical force to ensure the execution of them, and *an executive power respected and independent of the legislature, with which foreign powers may treat.* Let us have a constitution and we shall be delivered both from that committee of public safety, which is a disgustful monster, which annihilates all responsibility, monopolizes all power. We shall be delivered by the same means from these commissioners or despots distributed through the departments, and the armies who can answer no purpose but that

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of diſorganizing every thing, of driving away men of talents from the public ſervice,* and of making republicaniſm odious: beſides, there cannot be a conſtitution ready, except by this fourth meaſure. If we attempt feebly to diſcuſs it now, we ſhall not have it in readineſs theſe two years.

The fifth method is preferable, provided the fourth is not adopted; it conſiſts in immediately convoking the primary aſſemblies to proceed to the election of a new Convention, with a recommendation to them not to elect the preſent deputies.

This plan of Genſonné differs from that of Laſource; the reſult of whoſe propoſition would have been a nullity, becauſe if it were practicable to make an expurgatory ſcrutiny of five or ſix million of men upon thirty deputies, who are all well known, it is impoſſible that it ſhould reach forty or fifty obſcure deputies who diſtinguiſh themſelves only by the howlings and vociferations they make in chorus.—Theſe men are, perhaps, more dangerous than the orators; for it is they who fatigue the aſſembly by their cries, and carry the decrees by force. One of theſe two conſequences would follow: either the recommendation to exclude *all* the preſent members would be adopted, and then the new legiſlature would be delivered from the tyranny of thoſe turbulent men; or, if that general recommendation ſhould not be attended to, they are too well known by their exceſſes in their departments not to be excluded in a new election.

This project of Genſonné is much better than that of Condorcet; becauſe its execution is immediate. Condorcet does not convoke the primary aſſemblies till the month of November. Either we are ſound, or we are diſtempered; if we are ſound, we do not want the remedy: if we are diſtempered, it will not come in time.

I look for the motive which could dictate Condorcet's project. Could he imagine it a cure for the maladies which afflict the Convention? This would be to lead the nation into a pernicious error. The Convention might perfect a cure, if ſhe were free. Is ſhe ſo? Surely Condorcet will not affirm it. Will ſhe be more ſo in the month of November? Who will dare to play with the ſafety of the nation upon this chance? It is however what they do, who will not take a meaſure that is prompt and deciſive.

I like the meaſure of Genſonné. It carries his ſtamp. It applies an inſtant remedy, becauſe the evil is preſſing. It is an ap-

* *Author.*] Does not what has juſt happened in Cuſtine's caſe, offer proof? Is it not diſguſtful to make a general (who has done important ſervice, and given proof of genius in the military art) ſubordinate to men who have no military knowledge or talents?

N. B. They have ſince this publication diſpoſed of the general by their guillotine.

peal

peal to the French people; to the people who ought in the end to pronounce between us, and our adverſaries, who ought to pronounce between order and anarchy; her voice alone can completely cruſh the anarchiſts. The people too of themſelves can adopt this meaſure, whenever they ſee the evil at its height.

The meaſure interrupts no buſineſs. We all remain at our poſts. We continue the diſcuſſion of the plan of the conſtitution; we watch over affairs at home and abroad.

The new Convention brings a change of men; and that is what we ſeek. Thoſe who compoſe the preſent Convention hate one another too much not to fight with an eternal rancour, and no public good is done in the midſt of that fierce battle.

The new Convention will either change the place of her ſitting without any convulſions, or even if ſhe returns to Paris, ſhe will come ſurrounded with a force from the departments, capable of making herſelf reſpected, and will take the direction of the police and of the public force into her own hands.

Genſonné propoſed ſome time ago this meaſure of putting the police into the hands of the Convention. It was treated as a tyrannical meaſure. It was not even put to the vote. Time has ſhewn the wiſdom of this rejection.

The national repreſentation muſt have the police of the place where ſhe ſits, or ſhe never can be free.*

To decide the place where the legiſlative body muſt reſide is a great queſtion. For her liberty, her independence, is the only ſecurity for the goodneſs of her decrees, and for the equality of the departments.

This queſtion was long diſcuſſed in the American Congreſs and the experience of fifteen years has proved, that whatever, they could do, the diſpoſition of the ſpot where the Congreſs reſided, had always more influence upon its deliberations than any of the other ſtates. This experiment was often made in Pennſylvania, in Jerſey, at New York; it has always given this ſame reſult. Hence it is, that there were eternal diſcuſſions between the different ſtates; hence it is that they at length reſolved to build a federal town diſtant from great cities; upon a ground belonging to the Congreſs only, where ſhe alone might exerciſe the the rights of government.

The Congreſs beſides experienced another inconvenience not leſs conſiderable by reſiding in a great town. It was in perpetual diſputes with the conſtituted authorities either of the town itſelf, or of the particular ſtate; they would have a rivalſhip with the Congreſs. But there (in America) as reaſon preſides in *their*

* Yet an accumulation of all power is the very deſcription of deſpotiſm.

heads,

heads, it is not violence that ſupports theſe rivalſhips; they ſhew themſelves only in altercations, in punctilios always vexatious, always too apt to alter that confidence which ought to ſurround the legiſlative body.

At the end of the war a great number of ſoldiers preſented themſelves to the Congreſs to demand indemnities. The petition was inſolent. The Congreſs called upon the government of Philadelphia for forces to repreſs the ſeditious ſoldiers. The government ſhewed no earneſtneſs; and the Congreſs adjourned itſelf immediately into the Jerſeys, though no violence had been committed againſt it.

What would that Congreſs ſay if it knew the actual poſition of the French Convention? Would it not juſtly blame the republic for continuing in a town where its deliberations are not free, where its authority is every day trampled under foot by inferior authorities, where its deputies are inſulted and menaced?

I do not at all examine here, whether if in time of peace, and when the conſtitution ſhall be thoroughly ſettled, circumſtances, phyſical and political, will not demand that the legiſlative power may be fixed in Paris. Without doubt, it is not impoſſible to eſtabliſh the independency of the legiſlative body in that great city. But I maintain that the meaſures which can eſtabliſh that independence of the legiſlative body in any town whatever, ought to be preſcribed by the conſtitution, to the end that they may not be always counteracted. I maintain that the Convention has not at this time in Paris, the liberty which is neceſſary for taking her meaſures, nor the force for carrying them into execution.

There is nothing on which to heſitate. The new Convention muſt have *a proviſional meeting ſomewhere elſe, to enable her to deliberate.*

But the proſperity of Paris!—but the happineſs of the people!—What will become of *them*, will be the cry? I anſwer, that without doubt, Paris has done immenſe ſervice to the revolution; but it will be paying too dear for her ſervices, if we ſacrifice the liberty of France as an acknowledgment. That will be betraying the deſires of Paris herſelf.

The republic ought to employ her care for the happineſs of Paris; it is a ſacred debt; ſhe will diſcharge it with honour. A crowd of meaſures preſent themſelves to reſtore the ancient proſperity of that city, or rather to beſtow on her a proſperity built upon a more ſolid and more honourable foundation.

But the firſt, the moſt efficacious of theſe meaſures is, the reſtoration of order and of law. For it is a matter of demonſtration, that order will never be eſtabliſhed in Paris as long as the Convention is ruled by the robbers who uſurp the name of its in-

habitants, as a diſguiſe to decorate their ſanguinary decrees. *This people of robbers, who diſtract Paris, and outrage the Convention, muſt be exterminated.*

And it is to theſe *robbers*, whom they call *the* people, *the* ſovereign, that our anarchiſts would ſubject all France.

Do you believe them, (I ſay as Cicero ſaid to the Cataline of his day,) do you believe that the people of France is only a compound of thoſe mercenaries, hired to beſiege the ſenate, to inſult the magiſtrates, to ſtimulate to pillages and to conflagrations, and to call for murders without end? What a fine picture of the dignity of the French people, of that people, who, even in the midſt of their adverſity, are able to make kings tremble, together with their people of ſlaves!* Is this troop of banditti who daily ſurround the ſenate; is this the French people? The true people of France are they, who fill our towns, who are occupied in making our manufactures flouriſh; employed in our fields in fertilizing our ſoil; employed in our armies in defence of their country againſt foreign tyrants. There, there is the people of France whom we wiſh to ſerve, whoſe intereſt ought to prevail with us above all things! There is the people who wiſh that their repreſentatives ſhould be free, in order that they may give them ſalutary laws! There is the people who ſay to the robbers, "I "will ſacrifice you all, if the blood of a ſingle individual of my "repreſentatives is ſpilt!†" There is the people from whom it is our duty not to conceal the truth; to whom we owe the truth naked, whole, and entire! Well, it is to that people that I ſay the Convention is *not free at Paris*. The preſent Convention cannot ſave you, another muſt be called, it muſt ſit ſomewhere elſe; otherwiſe you will have neither conſtitution nor government.

What an happineſs it will be for me, if I am deceived in holding this opinion, but I cannot impoſe upon my conſcience. I know the anarchiſts too well; I am too well inſtructed in what has paſſed, to allow myſelf to be abuſed by a few moments of perfidious calm, by a few ſittings, where reaſon prevailed.

Departments, liſten to me! Here is my thermometer: it ought to be your's. When they tell you that the Convention is free and obeyed, aſk if the municipality is diſſolved; if thoſe who inſtigated murders, and the diſſolution of the Convention, have loſt their heads upon the ſcaffold? Are they unpuniſhed? Do

* *Tranſlator.*] This deſcription of the unhappy people of France is not ſurely written for any other people than them.

† *Tranſlator.*] Mark the event: twenty-two of their heads ſtruck off on the ſcaffold amidſt the cries of *Vive la Republique!* Who has attempted to revenge this?

they

they with the ſame audacity every day renew their exceſſes? Say that the Convention is not free, and conſequently cannot ſave you. Whoever affirms the contrary is miſtaken, or impoſes upon you. Either have force, or fly from hence. This is my laſt word.

Anarchiſts, robbers! You may now ſtrike; I have done my duty; I have told truths which will ſurvive me; truths which will at leaſt efface the diſgrace with which you would wiſh to cover my name; truths that will prove to all France that good men have conſtantly exerted their whole ſtrength to open the eyes of France, and to preſerve her liberty.

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